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WITH PROFOUND RESPECT AND ADMIRATION

TO

THE MEMORY

OF

GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I.

1814—1893

FATHER OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Colonel A. Cunningham, while he was the Chief Engineer of the North-Western Provinces, laid before Lord Canning in November 1861, a memorandum praying for a complete and systematic archaeological investigation of the ancient historic ruins of Upper India. This led to his appointment as the first Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India. As director of the Archaeological Survey (1870—1885) he brought to light the immense importance of the archaeological ruins of more than fifty ancient cities—including Kauśāmbī—in the United Provinces. (A.S.R. Vol. I).

PREFACE

A few of my articles on the early history of Kauśâmbī were published in papers and journals from time to time, and a paper on a controversial point of its history in the second century B.C. was read at the SIXTH ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, held at Baroda. All these formed the nucleus of the present monograph. In it I have endeavoured to present an account of the ancient greatness of Kauśâmbī, now reduced to a ruined fortress. The facts have been arranged to give the story a continuous form, which, however, has been broken on account of the paucity of materials available on the subject.

The materials for these pages have been drawn mainly from primary sources—Sanskrit and Pâli literature. The references in the ancient texts have been used after careful sifting in the light of epigraphic, archaeological and numismatic evidences. Secondary sources have been consulted where it was necessary, either for acceptance or rejection of the views stated therein. References to Kauśâmbī in modern literature are scanty, and statements in some places appear to be incorrect.

I have visited Kauśâmbī and its adjunct, the Pabhosâ Rock, several times. My personal observations of the situation of the place *vis-a-vis* the Yamunâ and the Pabhosâ Rock have greatly helped me to use some of the Pâli and epigraphic references regarding the subject.

Sir Alexander Cunningham has used the spelling 'Kosâmbi,' evidently following the Pâli Texts. But I have preferred the Sanskrit spelling 'Kauśâmbī' and also used the corrected version in the quotations from the authors who used the former spelling. In the matter of transliteration I have followed the system approved by the INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894, with this slight difference that I have preferred the sign - to ^ for the long â instead of ā to represent आ, and other slight variations which will explain themselves.

I wish to acknowledge with sincere thanks my indebtedness to Dr. Hem Chandra Raychaudhari, M.A., Ph.D., lecturer in History, Calcutta University, for his kindly going through those portions of the MS. which I considered of controversial nature, and offering some valuable suggestions. I am further grateful for the kind assistance I received from my friend and colleague, Prof. C. H. Hazlett, M.A. for carefully revising

the MS. My acknowledgment is also due to Mr. Braj Mohan Vyas, the Secretary of the Allâhâbâd Municipal Museum, for helping me to prepare a list of the Kauśâmbī relics housed in the Museum, which provided materials for my note on the archaeological importance of Kauśâmbī.

I must also thank my friend Tripiṭakâcharya Râhula Sankrityana for having seen through the final proofs, and my student Sm. Devi Shanker Bajpai for preparing the index.

I am grateful to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji M.A., Ph. D., P.R.S., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, for the trouble he has taken to read the book and write an Introduction to it.

N. N. GHOSH

EWING CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ALLAHABAD
January 30, 1935

AN INTRODUCTION

By

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D.
PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

I

Students of Indian history must always feel how vast is their field of study and how difficult it is to subject it to any adequate general treatment, with all its variety and complexity. Indeed, India as a country even in the political sphere has always appeared to be too unwieldy in its size and proportions to be organised as a unit, as the subject of a common sovereignty or as a unitary state. This fundamental physical factor of India has throughout the ages operated as a most difficult obstacle to its political unification, and, if it was achieved in any degree, or to any extent, on some exceptional occasions, it was only of a loose kind, without the organised structure of a modern state. It was left to only a few emperors like Chandragupta Maurya or Asoka in the times of Hindu India to establish a paramount political authority over a large part of India, which was even more extensive than British India. In the case of Asoka, whom H. G. Wells has judged to be the greatest king of history, he was easily the greatest king of India in respect of the size of his empire, which extended

far beyond what is now known as the 'scientific frontier' of India, or the Durrand line, so as to include all that territory which is now comprised by Afghanistan and Baluchistan, until it marched with Persia. Alone among the rulers, Asoka could claim the unique credit and the distinction of calling Antiochos Theos, the then Emperor of Syria, as his 'immediate neighbour' or ['frontager'] [*pratyanta narapati*]. But we need not depend upon the testimony of his own words, his own personal evidence, in support of this proud claim. We have it on the evidence of the Greek writers themselves how all this precious territory that lay outside the natural frontiers of India came to be included in the Indian empire under the Mauryas. It was due to the terms of a treaty which the founder of that empire, Asoka's grandfather, Chandragupta Maurya, was able to impose by virtue of a victory over his adversary, the Syrian emperor, Seleucos, in about 304 B.C., whereby Seleucos had to cede to the Indian emperor the entire eastern part of his dominion made up of the four provinces then called Gedrosia (modern Baluchistan), Arachosia (Kandahar), Aria (Herat) and Paropanisus (the country of the Hindukush). The establishment of a common political sovereignty over such an extensive area no doubt aided in its political unification as a single state, and in the realisation by the people concerned of the identity and individuality of what constituted their mother-country which came to be controlled by such a State. But from the very physical conditions of the situation, the difficulties of communication in those pre-mechanical ages between the different and distant parts of a vast country, the Mauryan empire, at its best, could not possibly have achieved the degree of organisation and uniformity in administration which are the

marks of a modern state. In the words of John Stuart Mill, "in ancient times, the machinery of authority was not perfect enough to carry orders into effect at a great distance from the person of the ruler. He depended mainly upon voluntary fidelity for the obedience even of his army, nor did there exist the means of making the people pay an amount of taxes sufficient for keeping up the force necessary to compel obedience throughout a large territory." And he comes to the conclusion which can hardly be disputed that "in the ancient world, though there might be, and often was, great individual and local independence, there could be nothing like a regulated popular government beyond the bounds of a single city-community." In the case of Asoka, however, and, indeed, of the Hindu State in general, by the very principles of its growth and organisation, the inevitable looseness of structure of ancient polities to which Mill refers was sought to be avoided by an appropriate system of scientific decentralisation whereby the efficiency of the governmental machinery was secured by limiting the field of its operation and authority. It was this system which culminated in the constitution of the villages of India as self-contained republics functioning within, and with, defined areas and jurisdictions, the villages in which the Indian nation has been living through the ages. Indeed, India has grown predominantly as a rural, rather than as an urban, civilisation, on the basis of agriculture as its main industry. It was about these indigenous rural republics of India, which were possessed of so much life and vigour that they had lasted for several millenniums, that Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote as follows:—"The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent

of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution . . . but the village community remains the same . . . This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the peoples of India, through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence." [Rep. Select Comm. of House of Commons, 1832, Vol. III, app. 84, p. 331]. Thus by the peculiar principles of political evolution, as established by the Hindu thinkers and law-givers, these ancient Indian empires and despotisms were only so in name. The defects of an aggressive and autocratic imperialism found their checks in inevitable decentralisation of authority and its distribution among many centres, while its despotism or tyranny was severely restricted by the irresistible growth of a vast subterranean democracy by which sovereignty at the top had to share its authority and burden with the people below who were left to themselves to manage their own affairs through their own institutions of self-government.

But unfortunately a stable political equilibrium could not be maintained for the whole of India except on very rare occasions. The chronic political condition of India has been that its unity is lost in a multiplicity of States and petty principalities. Empires in India have been very short-lived. Indian civilisation through the ages has been the work of different states and peoples and not of a single sovereign agency. Even in modern times, with the quickening of communications, the abridgement of space and time,

and the revolution in transport achieved by science, including the conquest of the air, the constitution of the whole of India as a political unit still remains to be realised. India as a whole is still sharply divided into two main parts, British India and Princely India. Even today a third of India is controlled by as many as about six hundred different States as the outcome of a history ultimately moulded by a fundamental geographical factor. The most knotty political problem of the day is that of ways and means by which India as a whole may be constituted into a federation whereby the Indian States may be integrated with the provinces of British India as organic members of a common constitution and body-politic, so that there may emerge out of this process a Greater India with the possibilities of a greater promise as a beneficent force for the future of mankind.

II

But if the difficulties presented by the continental size of India are so much in evidence in the sphere of its political development, they are not less so even in the field of thought, for purposes of the construction of a proper general history of India. It is difficult to construct a unified history for the whole of India like the history of England, for the simple reason that the whole of India has hardly come under a common history with its source and centre in a common political authority making and moulding that history. A history of India is now possible only for its British period, and for British India which has been organised as a unitary State. Even then, and more so for the whole country, that history is made up of, and best studied in, any number of subsidiary, subordinate, or local

histories, that have evolved on their own lines in different parts of the country in different periods from different centres, presenting but few points of contact but more of conflict between them. But in the case of the history of a country like England, it can be easily traced and studied as an organic whole built up from age to age by a supreme and sole sovereign authority governing the general and common life of the entire country in all its parts. Indian history lacks this unity and organic homogeneity and has to be traced in parts and fragments, sometimes in missing links, in interruptions, and isolated restorations, and very rarely as a continuous chain of development. Accordingly, it offers a wide scope for the study of local history with the materials of which the general history of the whole country may be properly built up. The limited field of local history does not limit its interest or importance. What is lost in extent is amply made up by the depth and detail of an intensive investigation. The facts of local history unearthed by specialised work on the spot, and study at its very sources, will give flesh and blood, colour and form, to the dry bones, the dead skeleton, of a mean and meagre general history.

There are many such fields of local history which have been worthily worked up in the domain of Indian history, political or cultural, doing justice to its different phases. To take a few examples, quite an extensive literature has now grown up with reference to regions and peoples that have taken a prôminent part in the general history of the country. For the south, the histories of peoples like the Cholas or Pallavas have been separately treated, as also the histories of regions like Vijayanagara, Mysore, or Kerala. A large part of Indian history is involved in the separate

histories of Rajputs, Marathas, or Sikhs. Bengal or Gujarat has also its own story to tell, as also Kanauj, or Kashmir, or Orissa.

A later development of local history is that which has gathered round some chosen centres or cities. The best examples of this phase of Indian historical work are Sir John Marshall's books on Sanchi and Taxila or the much older one of Cunningham on Bharhut or of Rajendra Lal Mitra on Bodh-Gaya. Much valuable Indian history remains locked up in the buried ruins of these ancient cities, which civilization has now deserted with changes in its course in modern times. Taxila contains the key to an important part of Imperial Kushan history, as Sanchi holds within its monuments so much of Maurya Imperial history. The monuments of Sārnāth exhibit the stratification of a yet longer period of Indian history through Maurya, Kushan, Gupta and later times in successive layers illustrative of each of these historical varieties.

III

Professor N. N. Ghosh's work on Kauśāmbī is a most welcome addition to this much-needed literature of local history. His subject is as well chosen as its treatment is adequate. As so vividly and amply brought out in his work, Kauśāmbī had an important part to play in the public and political life of ancient India. It grew to be one of India's ancient cities and centres of civilization. It is mentioned even in some Vedic works.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, [XII, 2, 2, 13], mentions Proti Kausurubindi as the pupil undergoing *brahmacharya* under the 'āchārya' who was no less a person

than the famous philosopher of Upanishadic fame, Uddālaka-Āruṇi, and states that Kausurabindi was a Kauśāmbeya, i.e., a native of Kauśāmbī. The same reference is also found in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* [I. 4, 24], though the pupil's name is given a little differently as 'Predi Kausurabindu'. This shows that even in the early days of *Brāhmaṇa* literature, Kauśāmbī was a noted centre of learning. To be a pupil of Uddālaka was no mean honour in those days. Learning and the highest philosophy were hereditary in his family. Himself a pupil of his learned father, Aruṇa, he went farther north to Madra country to seek higher instruction under its famous teacher, Patañchala Kāpya, and then himself became the teacher of such distinguished pupils as Yājñavalkya and Kaushītaki, while his son, Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, was later winning his laurels in learning at disputations in their native Kuru-Pañchāla country [See *Chha. Up.* V. 3, 1; *Bṛi, Up.* vi, 1, 1; 4, 33; 3, 15; iii, 7, 1; *Śāṇkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, xv]. It is interesting to note that this Śvetaketu is described by Āpastamba in his Dharma-sūtra as being counted in his time as an *Avara* or later authority, a 'recent' ṛishi, and this should throw some light on his date which may be roughly taken to be about 800 B.C., if Āpastamba is placed in the fifth century B.C. Thus learning in ancient India was very much indebted to this Āruṇi family and the school of scholars that had gathered round it, of which a most distinguished member was this Proti Kausurabindi Kauśāmbeya. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* [VII. 2, 2, 1], there is a significant name Kusurvbinda Auddālaki, and if it is taken to be the name of the Kauśāmbī scholar, it only shows how both teacher and pupil were bringing each other honour and fame.

It is thus clear from these Vedic references that Kauśāmbī was a noted seat of learning in those olden times,

along with Videha under King Janaka, Kāśī under King Ajātaśatru, Pañchāla under King Travāhaṇa Jaivali, the patron and member of that Academy of higher learning known as Pañchāla-Parishad, Madra the home of the philosopher, Patañchala-Kāpya, or Kaikeya in farther north under its learned king Aśvapati. Everywhere king and commoner, Kshatriya and Brāhmaṇa, were vying with one another as devotees of learning. Kauśāmbī must be seen in this ancient cultural setting as revealed in the *Upanishads* and *Brāhmaṇas*.

Kauśāmbī has also a place in Epic history. The *Rāmāyaṇa* [I. 32, 6] preserves the tradition of its foundation: 'Kuśāmbastu mahātejāḥ Kauśāmbīmakarot purīm'; 'the powerful prince Kusāmba constructed the city of Kauśāmbī'.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* records the tradition that Kauśāmbī became the capital of the Kurus after the destruction of Hastināpura.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* states: "Asti Vatsa iti khyāto deśaḥ। Kauśāmbī nāma tatrāsti madhyabhāge mahāpurī"; "there is the country called Vatsa and there lies at its centre the great city called Kauśāmbī." Sometimes Kauśāmbī was called Vatsa-pattana [*Trik.* 2, 1, 14].

The city was important enough to pass into grammatical literature as the chosen example of certain grammatical formations. Pāṇini's Sūtra, IV. 2, 68—'*tena nirvrittam*—is illustrated by the *Kāśikā* as follows: 'Kuśāmbena nivṛittā'—'Kauśāmbī nagarī'; 'the city of Kauśāmbī constructed by Kuśāmba', a fact testified to by the *Rāmāyaṇa* as cited above. Again, Pāṇini's Sūtra, II. 1, 18, is responsible for a very interesting reference to Kauśāmbī made by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* belonging to the time of the Śuṅga emperors.

With reference to this Sūtra—'Kugati-prādayaḥ'—

Katyāyana (c. 350 B.C.) supplies a Vārttika the implied meaning of which, according to Patañjali, was elaborated in a series of other Vārttikas added by the Saunāgas. These supplementary Vārttikas have been noted by Patañjali. One of these runs as follows: "Nirādayaḥ Krāntādyarthe pañcha myāḥ"—'the prefix *niḥ* is added to denote departure from a place to be named in the fifty case'. Patañjali illustrates this Vārttika by the following two examples: *Nishkausāmbiḥ*; *Nir-Vārāṇasiḥ*'; 'one who has passed beyond Kauśāmbī; one who has passed beyond Vārāṇasī.'

But the historical value of these examples is to be found in the fact that these two cities which have so readily come to Patañjali's mind have done so because they were the established centres of trade and traffic, and stages of travel, in those days. This is brought out by Patañjali's comment on the Sūtra of Pāṇini, III. 3, 136, in the light of which the other sūtra, II, 2, 18, is to be interpreted. Patañjali comments on this sūtra as follows:

1. Yo' yamadhvāparimāṇo gantavyastasya yadavaraṁ Sāketāditi—'Of the measure of distance to be travelled up to Pāṭaliputra, for that portion which is nearer to Sāketa, the tense should be *sāmānya-bhavishya*, e.g., *bhokshyāmahe*.
2. Yo' yamadhvā Pāṭaliputrād gantavyastasya yatparaṁ Sāketāditi—'For the portion of the journey away from Sāketa but nearer to Pāṭaliputra, the tense should be *anadyatana-bhavishya* e.g., *bhoktāsmahe*.

These two examples thus contemplate a most frequented trade-route between Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra with intermediate stages or stations between these two ends at the two cities, Kauśāmbī, and Vārāṇasī, so that for the traveller who has passed from Sāketa beyond Kauśāmbī

and is *Nishkauśāmbī*, the form *bhokshyāmahe* should be used, and when he has proceeded much farther and beyond Vārāṇasī and is *Nir-Vārānasi*, on his way to Pāṭaliputra, he is to use the other form *bhoktāsmahe*.

It is also interesting to note in this connection that while Patañjali takes the city of Sāketa as one end, or the starting-point, of the journey to Pāṭaliputra as its destination or the other end, the *Kāśikā*, keeping to its other end, makes the journey start from Kauśāmbī in place of Sāketa. There may be a deep and good psychological reason for this difference between the two. Patañjali must have been more familiar with Sāketa as Jayāditya, the author of *Kāśikā-vritti*, was with Kauśāmbī, and each of them might be thinking of his native city as the starting-point.

Early Pāli texts (cited in this work) also show how Kauśāmbī lay on the main trade-routes of northern India in those days. Thus we read of boats going up the Ganges to Sahajāti (identified by Mr. Ghosh with modern Bhitā) and up the Yamunā to Kauśāmbī [*Vinaya*, I, 81; III. 401, 382]. Roads linking up north-west and south-west with eastern India also passed through Kauśāmbī (p. 8 of the work).

The evidence of these Sanskrit texts regarding the economic and political importance of Kauśāmbī is, indeed, fully corroborated by that of early and canonical Pāli texts. These are properly dealt with in this work. At the time of the Buddha's death (for which the traditional date is 543 B.C.), the six chief cities of India were Champā, Rājagṛiha, Vārāṇasī, Sāketa, Śrāvastī, and Kauśāmbī. The Pāli texts also speak of 16 great States (*Mahājanapadas*) of those days, and of four most prominent ones, including the Vatsa kingdom, the other three important States being Avanti,

Kosala, and Magadha. Vatsa was then ruled by Udayana, a most romantic figure, the centre of a cycle of legends preserved in such famous Sanskrit dramas as *Svapnavāsavadattā*, *Priyadarśikā*, or the *Ratnāvali*, the last two being the works of another great king of later times, the Great Harsha. These dramas bring out the historical fact that the alliance of the Vatsa king was sought after by the powerful king of the neighbouring kingdom of Avanti, and that both these kings became the patrons of Buddhism. Kauśāmbī thenceforth occupies a large place in early Buddhist history as the seat of the two famous establishments called Ghosita-Ārāma and Pāvāriya's Mango-grove where the Buddha often came to reside in the course of his wanderings as a teacher, and delivered his discourses preserved in the Buddhist Canon. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* describes Udayana's *digvijaya* and the *Priyadarśikā* his conquest of Kalinga, and restoration of his father-in-law, Dṛiḍhavarman, to the throne of Aṅga. Thus tradition marks him out as an important political figure whose power, both by alliances and conquests, was felt over an extensive area from Avanti to Aṅga and Kalinga. Jātaka No. 353 describes the Bhagga state of Suṁsumāragiri as a dependency of Vaṁsa. It was ruled by Prince Bodhi as a Viceroy of his father, King Udayana. These Bhaggas were a republican people according to Buddhist texts. The *Harivaṁśa* ascribes the state of the Bhaggas (Bhārgavas) to Bhṛigu, son of king Pratardana of Kāśi, who had another son named Vatsa, the founder of the Vatsa kingdom. The Pali texts record the further interesting fact that Prince Bodhi as Viceroy lived in a palace called Kokanada built on the Suṁsumāra hill situated in the Deer Park of Bheskalāvana. One day, for the purpose of receiving the Buddha, he had the whole row of steps

to the palace covered over by white cloth. He had, however, to remove it as the Buddha would not, as a monk, tread on that cloth. Mr. Ghosh is responsible for the interesting suggestion that the Bhagga country may be identified with the present Mirzapur district and the Suṁsumāra hill with the present Chunār hill. The political importance of the Vatsa kingdom will be further evident from the fact that its alliance was valued even by the most powerful king of the times, Ajātaśatru of Magadha who treated it as a buffer-state between Magadha and Avanti, when its king Pradyota contemplated an attack on Rājagṛiha [*Majjhima-Nikāya*, *III*. 7].

The political importance of Kauśāmbī survived Udayana for a long time. Even in the time of Asoka it was important enough to be chosen as the headquarters of a province, marked by one of his pillar edicts. This edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātra* or Governor of Kauśāmbī and indicates how it was a seat of a large Buddhist Saṁgha whose very number was proving to be a source of schism which the king by his proclamation seeks to stamp out.

The later history of Kauśāmbī, with all that is known about it, is presented by the author of this work with great ability and erudition. He has utilized all available sources of information, literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and monumental. His treatment of the controversial evidence of the Pabhosa Rock Inscription is a scholarly contribution throwing new light on obscure and controversial history.

There are some pieces of evidence which are brought to light for the first time in this work. By far the most important of these is from a statue of the Buddha discovered in March 1934, of which the pedestal bears an inscription dated in the second year of Kanishka's reign. The

discovery is due to the energetic founder of the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Mr. B. M. Vyas. The statue is on view at the Museum. Its inscription reads as follows: "In the 2nd year of the reign of Kanishka, Bhikkhunī Buddhimitrā put up this Bodhisattva at this place sanctified by the Buddha's several visits." The statue, in its inscription, its form, and its material of red stone, strongly recalls the colossal Bodhisattva statue, unearthed by excavations at Sārnāth, and now preserved in the Sārnāth Museum, to which it presents a family likeness. The Sārnāth statue bears an inscription dated in the third year of Kanishka's reign, and also records that it was a gift of the monk Bala hailing from Mathura. The Kauśāmbī statue is similarly the gift of a Buddhist nun. It is thus clear that in these statues we discover important links in the chain of Indian art of which the source and centre was Mathura. The Mathura school of art had thus flourished over a wide range of space and time, influencing in some ways even the art and iconography of Bharhut and Sanchi.

The author has something new and interesting to say on the connection of Kauśāmbī with the Vākāṭakas at the time of Samudragupta. Other interesting chapters in the work deal with the accounts of Kauśāmbī as given by the Chinese travellers, Fa-hien, and Yuan Chwang, the question of its identification, and the monumental remains so far discovered at the site. One of the most interesting of these is a huge stone pillar, of which a length of 22 ft. still remains, although its upper part is broken. It is a monolithic pillar resembling one of the uninscribed pillars of Asoka. It also bears a number of inscriptions ranging from the age of the Guptas up to the present day including one of the time of Akbar but not any inscription of Asoka.

I heartily congratulate the author on the valuable contribution he has made to Indian history by this piece of intensive work in a limited field which is of great importance to general Indian history with which it presents so many vital points of contact. I must also congratulate the Allahabad Archaeological Society on this promising inauguration of its publishing activities towards the promotion of Indian historical and archaeological studies.

THE UNIVERSITY, LUCKNOW RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI
January, 1935

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS

The following is list of plates of the finds in Kauśâmbī at present housed in the Allahabad Museum

TRANSLITERATION

a	अ
â	आ
i	इ
ī	ई
ṛ	ऋ
au	औ
ṇ	ण,
c	च
ṭ	ट
t	त
th	थ
ḍ	ड
d	द
dh	ध
ś	श
ṣ	ष
s	स
ṁ	Anusvâra
ḥ	Visarga
h	ह
kṣ	क्ष

ABBREVIATIONS

Ang. Nik. — Anguttara Nikâya.
Aśoka — *By* Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.
Asoka (G. L.) — *By* Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.
A.S.R. — Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Bd. — Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa.
Bh. — Bhâgavata Purâṇa.
C. A. G. I. — Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
C. A. I. — Coins of Ancient India *by* General Cunningham.
C. C. I. M. — Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
C. H. I. — Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1.
Dh. A. — Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathâ. (P. T. S.)
D. N. — Digha Nikâya (P. T. S.).
Dv. — Dīpavaṁsa.
Dvd. — Divyâvadâna.
E. H. I. — Early History of India, *by* Dr. V. Smith.
G. A. I. — Geography of Ancient India *by* General Cunningham.
Ep. Ind. — Epigraphia Indica.

G. E. B. — Geography of Early Buddhism *by* Dr. B. C. Law.

Hv. — Harivaṁśa.

Ind. Ant. — Indian Antiquary.

Jat. — The Jâtakas.

J. B. O. R. S. — The Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society.

Jayaswal. — History of India from 150 A.D.—350 A. D.

J. R. A. S. — The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Mat. — Matsya Purâṇa.

Mbh. — The Mahâbhârata.

Mv. — Mahavaṁsa.

M. N. — Majjhima Nikâya.

Pradhan — The Chronology of Ancient India. *by* Dr. S. N. Pradhan.

P. V. — Peta Vatthu.

Pargiter. — The Kali Age, *by* F. E. Pargiter.

P. H. A. I. — Political History of Ancient India. *by* Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari.

Ram. — Ramâyaṇa.

S. B. — Sacred Books of the Buddhists.

Smv. — Sumangalavilâsini.

S. N. — Saṁyutta Nikâya.

Sat. Br. — Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa.

S. nip. — Sutta Nipâta.

V. T. — Vinaya Texts.
Va. — Vâyu Purâṇa.
Watters — On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India *by* Mr. Watters.

ON THE ANTIQUITY AND IMPORTANCE OF KAUŚÂMBĪ

Kauśâmbī, whose site is to be undoubtedly identified with ruins existing at Kośam,[1] 38 miles from Allâhâbâd above the Yamunâ, is a very ancient city known to us from tradition and history. It is commonly known from Pâli canon as a Buddhist town, being the capital of the Vatsa King Udayana, a contemporary of the Buddha. But the existence of the city can be traced to hoary antiquity, long anterior to the time of the Buddha who flourished in the 6th century B. C. We find references to the city of Kauśâmbī in the Epics[2] and in the Purâṇas[3] which speak of time older than the Pâli canon. We find mentioned therein kings who ruled the kingdom of Kauśâmbī long before Udayana had graced the throne.

I. Traditional Accounts of its Origin

There are several traditional accounts of the origin of the city of Kauśâmbī, but none of them has any semblance of connection with the other.

[1] See later, p. 83.
[2] Mbh I, 63, Ram I, 32.
[3] Mt. Va, Bd.

They are often contradictory. They have no corroborative evidence to prove their historical value. But the name of Kauśâmbī occurring therein undoubtedly proves the great antiquity of the city. According to the Mahâbhârata we can trace the origin of the city of Kauśâmbī to a prince of the Cedi King, Uparicara Vasu. The latter, a king of the Kuru Dynasty, conquered the beautiful kingdom of Cedi. He had five powerful sons—Bṛihadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśâmba, Mabella and Yadu. Each of them was installed over a new kingdom which became famous after his name. The reference is at best a faint one, and can be used only inferentially. A clear account of the foundation of the town of Kauśâmbī can be had in the Ramâyaṇa.[4]

Once upon a time Ṛiṣi Viśvâmitra, accompanied by Râma and Lakṣhmaṇa, halted in the evening at a pleasant spot on his way to Mithilâ after the destruction of the *râkṣas* Mârici and his followers, and told the princes the following story:

"Long ago there was a king named Kuśa, devoted to sacred rites and religion. His wife was named Vaidarbhi. He had four sons—Kuśâmba, Kuśanâbha, Asurtaraja and Vasu. One day Kuśa sent for his sons and asked them to found new kingdoms

[4] Ram I, 32, 6

and earn Kṣatriya virtue by ruling them. They founded several towns. *The powerful Kuśâmba founded Kauśâmbī*, Kuśanâbha founded Mahodaya, Asurtaraja founded Dharamâraṇya and Vasu founded, Girivraja."

The above are the Epic traditions of the origin of this famous city. During the time of the Buddha, the kingdom of Kauśâmbī was known as the country of the Vatsas, and its king Udayana as Vatsa Râja. The Epic account and that given in the Harivaṁśa[5] agree in tracing the origin of the Vatsa people to a king of Kâśi, Pratardana by name. They, however, differ in other details of the story in which the account of the origin of the Vatsas formed a part. The Harivaṁśa account is clearer on one point, because after having said प्रतर्दनस्य पुत्रौ द्वौ वत्स भार्गौ बभूवतुः it adds. वत्सस्य वत्सभूमिस्तु भृगुभूमिस्तु भार्गवात् ।

II. The Puranic Data as to its Antiquity

In addition to the information we obtain as to the origin of the Vatsa people of the territory of Kauśâmbī from the Harivaṁśa which can be styled as an *upapurâṇa*, there is plenty of data available in some of the oldest and most important Purâṇas which prove the great antiquity of Kauśâmbī. What

[5] Hv. I, 29.

is more important, these Purâṇic accounts, unlike those of the Epics, wonderfully agree with one another in details, barring slight discrepancies in some of the names given in the dynastic lists of kings, perhaps due to the differences in the accents of the spoken languages of the regions where the subsequent recensions of the earlier Purâṇas had been made. Following the Matsya Purâṇa[6] we find that when Hastinâpur was carried away[7] by the Ganges, the Kuru or the Bhârata King Nicakṣu[8] who was fifth in descent from Parikṣit, the grandson of Arjuna, abandoned Hastinâpur and dwelt in Kauśâmbī.[9]

From the above account we may conclude that Kauśâmbī existed as a city to tempt Nicakṣu to remove his capital there. There is no word in the Purâṇic accounts to suggest that Nicakṣu *founded* it. Of course, improvements and probably enlargement of the place were made after it had become the capital of the Kuru Kings. But that the place existed as an important town under the name of Kauśâmbī at the time of Nicakṣu's migration, is clear. The learned scholar Dr. Ray

[6] Pargiter, p. 5.
[7] *Gaṅgay âphṛte tasmin nagare.* Vs. has it more distinctly: *Yo Gangay âphṛte Hastinâpure.*
[8] Bh. Nimicakra.
[9] *Kausaṁbyaṁ sa nivatsyati*

Chaudhary evidently holds that view. He said, "Epic Traditions attribute the foundation of this famous city (Kauśâmbī) to a Cedi prince and the origin of the Vatsas is traced to a king of Kâśi."[10] He also refers in this connection to *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* where the name of Proti Kauśambeya occurs and according to the commentator Harisvâmin, Proti Kauśambeya was a native of Kauśâmbī.[11] This is certainly another proof of its antiquity, if Harisvâmin's interpretation is correct.

In addition to the references to Kauśâmbī in ancient Sanskrit literature dealt with above, which speak for its remote antiquity, the name of the city occurs in the Pâli Piṭakâs, the Jâtakas, in the later non-canonical Buddhist literature, Lalitavistara, Meghadūta, Kathâsaritsâgara, Ratnâvali and the accounts of the Chinese Pilgrims, Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang. The memory of Kauśâmbī was thus perpetuated from age to age in our ancient literature, a fact which speaks for its importance in the history of India during the early mediaeval periods.

[10] P. H. A. I., p. 92.
[11] Ibid-Sat Br. XII 2. 2. 13

KAUŚÂMBĪ IN THE TIME OF THE BUDDHA

It is not possible to say more of the pre-Buddhist history of Kauśâmbī than is contained in the Epic and Purâṇic traditions already referred to. Purâṇas also give a list of kings of Kauśâmbī from Nichakṣu downwards which will be considered later. In the early Buddhist time, however, we are on more solid ground as to its history. There are copious references to the city of Kauśâmbī in Pâli literature, both canonical and non-canonical.

I. ECONOMIC CONDITION

Centre of Trade and Traffic

That it was a great city in the time of the Buddha is evident from a conversation found in the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikâya between the Buddha and his close disciple Ânanda. When the Buddha expressed his desire to die in the town of Kusinârâ,[1] Ânanda said: "Let not the Exalted One die in this wattle and daub town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, Lord, there are other great cities such as

[1] Modern Kâsia near Gorakhpore, U. P.

Campâ,[2] Râjagaha,[3] Sâvatthi,[4] Saketa,[5] Kauśâmbī and Vârâṇasī. " Kauśâmbī is thus included in the Dīgha Nikâya among the six great cities in the time of the Buddha. Situated on the bank of the Yamunâ, it was a rich commercial city at that time. Like Taxilâ, Śrâvastī, Vârâṇasī, Râjagriha and Vaiśâlī, Kauśâmbī was a wealthy city in which millionaire merchants, lesser merchants and middle men resided.[6] In the Sutta Nipâta[7] we are told that it (Kauśâmbī) was the most important entrepot of goods and passengers coming to Kośala and Magadha from the south and west. In the *Sumangalavilāsinī*, which is a commentary on the Dīgha Nikâya, written by the famous exegete Buddhaghosha, we find the names of some bankers of Kauśâmbī. They were Ghosika or Ghosita, Kakoda and Pāvāriya who built beautiful hermitages (Ārâmas) in their respective gardens for the

[2] The capital of the Aṅga country which comprises the modern districts of Bhâgalpur and Munghyr. The site of ancient Campâ is marked, according to Cunningham, by the two villages, Campanagar and Campapura, that exist near Bhâgalpur.

[3] Sanks. Râjagriha near Gayâ.

[4] Sanks. Śrâvastī now identified with the ruins at Saheṭ Maheṭ in the district of Gonda, U. P., near Balrâmpur.

[5] Sâketa grew into the Capital city of Kosala on the ruins of Ajodhyâ. In the time of the Buddha, Sâketa was the second city, next to Śrâvasti, and occasionally used as the seat of Government. The city of the ancient Sâketa is to be identified with modern Ajodhyâ.

[6] Buddhist India, p. 102

[7] S. Nip. 1011-1013

residence of *Bhikkhus.* We can gather from the Vinaya Texts[8] that the terminus of the main river route from east to west was Kauśâmbī. Sahajâti was its nearest river station down the Yamunâ, near the confluence. It is identified with the ruins now existing at Bhīṭâ, about eight miles from Allâhâbâd.[9] Upwards the river was used for the cargo and passenger boats plying from the east along the Ganges as far as Sahajâti and along the Yamunâ as far west as Kauśâmbī. The traffic downwards was as far as Kośala, Magadha and Campâ and right up to the mouth of the Ganges and thence either across the Bay or along the coast to Burma.[10] Roads coming from the southwest and northwest also converged on Kauśâmbī for import and export of goods from those quarters. Thus Kauśâmbī was in the time of the Buddha the greatest river port for import and export of goods for the whole of North and Mid-India and had commercial relations even with Burma.[11]

[8] V. T. 1, 81, 3, 401, 382.

[9] I have visited Bhīṭâ several times. The place is full of ruins which speak for its antiquity. Some of the archaeological finds have been brought to the Allâhâbâd Museum. The discovery of a terra cotta seal in Bhīṭâ bearing the inscription of Sahajâti undoubtedly identifies the present ruins of Bhīṭâ with the ancient city mentioned in the Vinaya Texts—See Jayaswal, p. 225.

[10] Buddhist India, p. 104.

[11] Ibid.

II. Political Condition

One of the Sixteen Janapadas

In the Anguttara Nikâya[12] we learn that the Vatsas ruled the kingdom of Kauśâmbī with its capital of the same name and that Kauśâmbī was one of the sixteen *Janapadas* (Kingdoms) in India existing in the time of the Buddha. The other fifteen Janapadas were: 1 Aṅga,[13] 2. Magadha,[14] 3. Kâśi, 4. Kośala,[15] 5. Vajji,[16] 6. Malla,[17]

[12] Ang. Nik. I 213; IV. 252, 256, 260.

[13] The state east of Magadha with its capital Campâ. According to Cunningham, the site of the ancient city of Campâ is to be identified with the two villages—Campanagara and Campapura—which still exist near Bhagalpur.

[14] Corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gayâ districts of Behar. Its capital at the time of the Mahâbhârata was Girivraja or old Râjagṛiha. Bimbasâra built new Râjgriha at a few miles distance and it was the capital known in the time of the Buddha. The ruins of Râjagṛiha are still extant among hills near Gayâ.

[15] Roughly corresponds to modern Oudh. Its earliest capital was Ajodhyâ. In the time of the Buddha the capital was Śrâvasti (Sâvatthī), the ruins of which have been identified with Saheṭ Maheṭ in Gonda district, near Balrâmpur.

[16] A republican state north of Videha of the clan known as the Licchavis with its capital at Vaiśâlī (Vesâli) now identified with Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Behar.

[17] The territory of another republican people, the Mallas, divided into two parts which had their capital cities of Pâvâ and Kusinârâ. Kusinârâ is to be identified with the ruins at Kasiâ, 21 miles from Gorakhpore, U. P., and Pâvâ with Padronâ, 12 miles north of Kasiâ. It is interesting to note that it is in the Mallan town of Pâvâ that the

7. Cedi,[18] 8. Kuru,[19] 9. Pañcâla,[20] 10. Maccha,[21] 11. Sūrasena,[22] 12. Assaka,[23] 13. Avantī,[24] 14. Gandhâra,[25] 15. Kamboja.[26] The king of Kauśâmbī in Buddha's time was Udayana (Udenâ of the Pâli canon).

KING UDAYANA

1. *His Predecessors and Parentage*

Purâṇas give a list of kings who reigned in Kauśâmbī before Udayana. Nicakṣu, who transferred his residence here from Hastinâpur, was the

Buddha was taken ill, and in the other Mallan town of Kusinârâ he died. These were the last two towns which the Buddha had seen immediately before his *Parinibbâna.*

[18] Corresponds roughly to modern Bundelkhand.

[19] Corresponds roughly to the modern Delhi province and the Meerut district, U. P. Its ancient capitals were Hastinâpura and Indraprastha.

[20] Corresponds roughly to Rohilkhand and a part of the central Doab. It was divided into two parts—Northern Pañcâla with its capital at Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district, U. P.) and Southern Pañcâla with its capital at Kâmpilya (modern Kampil, in the Furrukhabâd district, U. P.)

[21] Corresponds roughly to the modern territory of Jaipur.

[22] The country with its capital at Mathurā, U. P.

[23] Acc. to S. nip verse 1977, it was in the Dakkhināpatha, close by the river Godâvarī.

[24] Roughly corresponds to modern Malwâ, Nimâr and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces.

[25] Corresponds roughly to Kâshmir and Taxilâ.

[26] A state immediately north of Gandhâra, identified with Rajpura described by Hiuen Tsang to have existed in the modern N. W. F. P.

fifth king after Parīkṣita, the grandson of Arjuna Pândava. King Udayana, as can be seen from the genealogical table drawn from the Purâṇic data,[27] was the seventeenth king from Nicakṣu. Thus his descent is traced from the Kuru or Bhârata kings of Hastinâpur. The great Sanskrit dramatist Bhâsa also calls him a scion of the Bhârata dynasty in the *Svapna Vâsavadattam.* Very little is known about the kings of Kauśâmbī earlier than Udayana. According to a Jain tradition[28] Śatânīka II, the father of Udayana, attacked Campâ, the capital of Aṅga, during the reign of Dadhivâhana. According to the Purâṇas the father of Udayana was Śatânīka. In the Matsya Purâṇa we find:—

"Tigmâd Bṛahdratho bhâvyo vasudâno Bṛhadrathât Vasudânâc Chatâniko bhaviṣy Odayanas tataḥ."

The Purâṇic account of his parentage agrees with the Tibetan account. According to the *Dulva* his father's name was Śatânīka. "The King of Kauśâmbī, Catanika, had a son born to him at the same time as the future Buddha was born and as the world was illuminated at his birth, as with the sun, he was called Udayana."[29]

But the account of his birth found in Pâlī literature is different both as to the name of his

[27] See Appendix I, p. 35.
[28] J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 321.
[29] Rockhill—Life of the Buddha, p. 17.

father, which is Parantapa, and as to the incident of his birth. In Buddhaghosha's commentary on the Dhammapada we find the following story of the birth of Udayana:—

King Parantapa of Kauśâmbī one day was with his queen outside the palace; the queen was in a family way and the king had made her put on a scarlet cloak and had placed on her finger a ring of rare value. Just then a *Hatthilinga*, a monster bird, flew down from the sky and, taking the queen for a piece of flesh, carried her off. The queen, fearing for her life, kept quiet, thinking that if she made any noise the bird would let her fall. The *Hatthilinga*, arriving at the Himavanta forest, dropped her in the fork of a banyan tree in order to devour her. When he began to fly around the place where he intended to perch, the queen seized the opportunity and, clapping her hands, shouted lustily, and the bird, startled at the unexpected noise, flew away. At that time the sun went down, and from the effect of past sins committed by the queen, the wind began to blow and violent rain came on. The queen, having passed a sleepless and miserable night in the fork of the tree, gave birth to a son in the morning. To the son she gave the name of *Udayana*, because at his birth she had experienced the three seasons, the cold season, the hot season, and the rainy season. In that forest lived a Ṛiṣi

of the forest from whom Udayana learned the mystic formulae for charming wild elephants, and with their help and showing the ministers the ruby ring and the scarlet cloak given to him by his mother recovered his father's throne after the latter's death.[80]

Neither Pâli literature nor the Tibetan Dulva discloses who Udayana's mother was. We however obtain a clue to Udayana's maternity from a different source—the Sanskrit source. The point has been clearly brought out by Dr. Bhandarkar.

In his Carmichael Lectures, 1918 (pp. 58 and 59), he states that in the plays of Bhâsa Udayana is called *Vaidehīputra*. This clearly indicates that Udayana's mother was a princess of Videha. The name is, however, unknown.

2. *Udayana's Queens*

Udayana had four queens. Tradition has preserved long stories of the adventures of Udayana and three of his queens. In every case the marriage was accomplished in a romantic manner.

Queen Vâsula-Dattâ. In the commentary on verses 21-23 of the Dhammapada we find the romantic story of Vâsula-dattâ, daughter of King Pajjota of Avantī. Pajjota was a man of fierce temper and unscrupulous character. Being told that Udayana, king of Kauśâmbī, surpassed him in

[80] Dh. A.—Udena Vatthu

glory, Pajjota determined to attack him. Being advised that an open campaign would not succeed against that powerful king, he took to stratagem. He had an exact likeness of an elephant made of wood and carefully painted; then he had machinery fixed inside to be worked with ropes, placed sixty men within to pull the ropes and started off across the boundary of King Udayana's territory. On being informed by a hunter that a beautiful elephant was in sight King Udayana took the bait, plunged into the forest in pursuit of the prize, became separated from his retinue, and was taken prisoner by Pajjota's men, who were in hiding on either side of the road. King Pajjota set a guard over him and on the third day offered him his life and freedom if he would give him the mystic power of charming elephants. King Udayana said that he would give the charm to any one who paid him homage. Pajjota planned a trick. He told his daughter Vâsula-dattâ that she would have to learn a charm from a dwarf, and told Udayana that a hunch-back woman would receive the charm from behind the curtain. So careful was the king to prevent an improper intimacy between the two! But when the prisoner day after day rehearsed the charm and his unseen pupil was slow to catch it, Udayana one day called impatiently, "Oh, you hunch-back!

How thick-headed and thick-lipped you must be!" The princess very indignantly retorted, "What do you mean, you wretched dwarf, to call me a hunch-back?" "The king told me so," he replied and pulled the corner of the curtain to see, and then asked who she was, and the trick was discovered. He then went inside, and there was no more talk that day of learning the charm, or of repeating lessons!

Then they laid a counter-plot. Vâsula-dattâ told her father that in order that she might succeed in learning the charm it would be necessary for her to procure an herb under a certain conjunction of the stars, and she should have the right of exit and the use of an elephant. Her wish was granted. Then one day when her father went to amuse himself in the garden, Udayana placed the princess on a swift elephant and fled. When King Pajjota found it out he sent soldiers in hot pursuit. But Udayana avoided capture by scattering gold and silver pieces along the road, so that when the pursuers stopped to gather them up, he forged ahead and reached his frontier fortress. Then the pursuers drew back and the royal couple entered the city in safety and in triumph. Then with due pomp and ceremony she was anointed as his queen, surrounded by five hundred female attendants.

Apart from the romantic interest of the marriage in the above story, it is illustrative of the fact that political rivalry existed between Kauśâmbī and Avantī and that King Udayana 'surpassed' King Pajjota in glory and power. Even if we may not believe the entire story as a fact, we can at least glean from it that this political rivalry between the two states ended, as usual in those days, in a matrimonial alliance between them.

Queen Sāmāvatī. Udayana's second queen was Sāmāvatī. The story of his marriage with her is also interesting. One day King Udayana on opening the door of his summer palace and looking out saw the young Sāmāvatī and asked whose daughter she was. Now, Sāmāvatī was the daughter of Seth Vaddavati of the Vaddavati country. At a time when that country was ravaged by famine and pestilence she came to Kauśâmbī and had been adopted by *Seth* Ghosita as his daughter. Sāmāvatī, after being handsomely dressed, was conducted to Udayana, who, the moment he saw her, fell in love with her and raised her to the rank of a great queen surrounded by five hundred attendants.[31]

Queen Mâgandiya. Pâli canon does not give us any clue as to the name of the third queen of

[31] Ibid.

Udayana. We get the name and also the romantic story of the marriage purely from non-canonical Buddhist literature, the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakatha of the famous exegete Buddhaghoṣa.

In the famous Kururathâ country there lived Brahmin Magandīya. He had a daughter whom he named Mâgandīa. She was very beautiful. Princes and sons of merchants demanded her hand in marriage, but he refused their suits with the reply that they were not worthy of her. One day the Buddha went to the village of Magandaya. The Brahmin seeing the Buddha thought that he was a fit husband for his daughter and approaching him said: "Lord, my daughter is extremely beautiful and you also are remarkable for your beauty. You may therefore have my daughter for your wife". The Buddha thereupon spoke to him on the futility of personal beauty and politely declined the offer. On this the Brahmin went away highly irritated and took her to King Udayana. The king was highly pleased at her appearance and fell in love with her and made her his queen, surrounded by five hundred female attendants."[82]

Queen Padmāvatī. The name of the fourth queen of Udayana we learn from the famous

[82] Ibid.

Sanskrit drama Svapnavâsvadattam of Bhâsa. She is Padmâvatī, the daughter of Ajâtaśatru of Magadha. Her brother Darśaka figures prominently in the story. It was probably a political marriage for the purpose of cementing friendship with Magadha, which was then a powerful kingdom.

3. *Udayana's Relations with the Neighbouring States*

Wedged between the two powerful neighbouring states of Avantī in the west and Magadha in the east, and with its capital city commanding the trade-routes by land and water in Mid-India, the city of Kauśâmbī was coveted by both Pajjota and Ajâtaśatru. The powerful king, Ajâtaśatru of Magadha, had extended his territory in the west as far as Kâśī, which touched the eastern confines of the kingdom of Kauśâmbī. King Pajjota invaded the kingdom of Kauśâmbī but was unsuccessful, and had to buy peace by giving his daughter in marriage to its king, Udayana.[33] Udayana secured the eastern frontiers of his kingdom by entering into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Magadha. These two royal marriages were essentially necessary for the maintenance of the political independence of Kauśâmbī, which

[33] See *ante* p. 15.

served as a buffer state between Avantī and Magadha. "Had not Udayana contracted these alliances," says Dr. Law, "Kauśâmbī would have fallen an easy prey to the overgrowing powers of Magadha and Avantī."[34] King Udayana conquered the country of the Bhaggas over whom his son Bodhi ruled as his viceroy.[35] Dr. Ray Chaudhary suggests that the Bhaggas were the descendants of the Epic and Purâṇic Bhârgavas.[36] If this illuminating supposition is correct, a close connection between these two peoples—the Bhaggas and the Vatsas—existed from a very early time, long before the time of the Buddha. During Udayana's time, however, they were known to be a republican people whom Udayana had conquered. Udayana was a war-like king and kept his army always in readiness. The elephants formed a considerable portion of his army.[37] He had his frontiers guarded by fortresses.[38] He beautified the city of Kauśâmbī with numerous palaces, tanks, and gardens.[39] He preserved forests and appointed forest guards to keep watch over them.[40]

[34] G. E. B., p. 23.
[35] M. N. II. 85.
[36] P. H. A. I., pp. 93, 130 f.
[37] Dh. A.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] M. N. III. 156-157.

KAUŚÂMBĪ IN THE TIME OF THE BUDDHA (*continued*)

I. Udayana's Conversion to Buddhism

It was while the Buddha was passing the sixth year of his ministry, before the rains had set in at Kapilavastu, that he thought of introducing his doctrine in Kauśâmbī. Having left Kapilavastu he visited Vaiśâlī and Râjagṛiha and then came to Vârâṇasī. From that place the Buddha together with his disciples started for Kauśâmbī. King Udayana was reviewing his troops, which had been assembled for a military expedition to the city of Kanakavâtī, when he saw the Buddha approaching. Being angry at the untimely appearance of this messenger of peace who might delay or stop his military operations, he exclaimed: "All such messengers of bad luck must be put to death." With that he took a sharp arrow and shot at the Buddha. As the arrow flew through the air these words were heard:

"From malice is misery brought forth.
He who here gives up to sacrifice and quarrels
Hereafter will experience the misery of hell.
Put away misery and quarrelling".[1]

[1] Rockhill—The Life of the Buddha, p. 74.

When the king heard these words he became submissive to the Blessed One, and with clasped hands sat down near the Buddha, who began to instruct him on the futility of strife and quarrelling and on the utility of conquering egoism and not human enemies. Egoism is the greatest enemy of man. "Let discernment be your sword; faith, charity, and morality your fort; virtue your army and patience your armour. Let diligence be your spear, meditation your bow and detachment your arrow."[2] With these beautiful words the Buddha concluded his sermon to Udayana.

The above account of the conversion of King Udayana to Buddhism we get from the Tibetan sources. But the circumstances leading to Udayana's conversion to the new faith are different according to Pâli sources, only the fact of his early hostility to Buddhism being common to both. The Pâli canon and the Jâtakas tell us that it was Piṇḍola Bhāraddvāja, a highly respectable member of the Order, and not the Buddha himself, who converted Udayana to the new faith.[3] It may be that the actual conversion of the king took place after the Buddha visited Kauśâmbī. We are told

[2] Ibid.
[3] Buddhist India, p. 7.

in the Jâtakas that once when Udayana was on a picnic excursion with his women-folk, the Buddhist monk Piṇḍola appeared in the neighbourhood to preach. One day his women-folk left Udayana, when he was asleep, to go to hear the religious discourse of Piṇḍola. Being highly enraged at this, Udayana had him tortured by having a nest of brown ants tied to his body.[4] At another time, we are told in the Divyâvadâna, the pavilion of his queen Sâmâvatī, who had become an ardent follower of the Buddha, was burnt down, and the queen and her attendants perished in the flames.[5] Once again, a hermit's life was threatened by Udayana, and the hermit fled to Śrâvasti.[6] Such a king, who had been bitterly hostile to Buddhism, became a follower of the Buddhist church after coming into contact with Piṇḍola Bharaddvāja.

II. Buddha's Visit to Kausambi

Kauśâmbī—a Scene of Buddhist Activity

Even though we may discard the Tibetan account of Udayana's conversion and accept the Pâli version of the event as found in the Jâtakas, we have it on the authority of the Pâlī canon that

[4] Jâtaka 4, 375.
[5] Dvd. 533.
[6] Watters, p. 368.

the Buddha himself visited Kauśâmbī, delivered several *suttas*,[7] and built up the monastic life there. Pinḍola was a native of Kauśâmbī, being the son of Udayana's chaplain.[8] He had gone to Rajâgṛiha, entered the Order, and in due time attained the six-fold abhiñña (supernatural knowledge). It is therefore probable that the monk Pinḍola had preceded his master to preach Buddhism in his native city of Kauśâmbī and that the Buddha followed him. It is difficult to say how many times the Buddha actually visited Kauśâmbī. But from the study of the *suttas* and the circumstances which served as occasions for them, one can hazard a guess that the Buddha visited the city and sojourned in the territory of King Udayana at least twice, if not oftener. We have it on the authority of the *Majjhima Nikâya* that while the Lord was sojourning in the territory of the king of Kauśâmbī, the latter's son Prince Bodhi was instructed into Buddhism by the Buddha himself.[9] Buddhaghosha tells us the story of the Magandiya's hostility to the Buddha and of her jealous intrigue against Queen Sâmavâtī. The latter's devotion to Buddhism and admiration for the

[7] Kosambiya sutta; Sandaka sutta; Bodhi-Râjkumâra sutta; etc.

[8] G. E. B., p. 17.

[9] M. N. II. 91-97.

Buddha were taken advantage of by the former to alienate the king's affection from her.[10] These events presumably took place during the Buddha's first visit to Kauśâmbī, which occurred in the sixth year of his ministry. The perusal of the *Kosambiya Sutta*[11] suggests that the Buddha delivered it during his second visit when minor differences marred the harmony of the monastic life at Kauśâmbī, when strife and discord broke out among the almsmen there. When as a result of these differences and disputes the almsmen of Kauśâmbī 'were living in a state of uproar and contention, hurling taunts at one another, unable to win over others, nor won over by others, to accord and agreement,'[12] the Buddha while on a visit to that city delivered the famous *Kosambiya-Sutta*, the theme of which was amity and its root, and the means of making up the differences with a view to establishing goodwill among the almsmen. This second visit of the Buddha to Kauśâmbī, during which he delivered the above *sutta*, occurred, according to all authorities, about the ninth year of his ministry.

After the conversion of King Udayana Kauśâmbi became an important scene of activity

[10] Dh. A.
[11] M. N. I. 322-325.
[12] Ibid.

of the Buddha and his followers. The conversion of the king to Buddhism was followed by that of other royal personages including Prince Bodhi. After that there was a steady flow of conversions of the people of Kauśâmbī into the new faith. Gradually the *vihâras* and *ârâmas* for the residence of the *bhikkhus* sprang up in the city and its suburbs. *Ghositârâma* was the most famous of them. It was built by the wealthy merchant of Kauśâmbī, Ghosita.[18] It is from the *Ghositârâma* that the Buddha delivered the *Kosambiya Sutta*, the *Sandaka Sutta*, and the *Upakkilesa Sutta*. The theme of the Kosâmbiya Sutta has already been dealt with. The *Sandaka-Sutta* was a discourse on false guides, and the *Upakkilesa Sutta* was a homily against strife and disputes. The burden of instruction of all three discourses was almost identical, it being felt necessary by the Buddha to put repeated emphasis on these instructions to guard against false doctrines which created minor *schisms* among the brethren. This famous and beautiful pleasance, Ghositârâma, the residence of the Buddha at Kauśâmbī, was built on the south-eastern corner of the city of Kauśâmbī, just on the bank of the Yamunâ. The ruins of this Vihâra were seen by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang.

[18] Smv., pp, 317-319.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF KING UDAYANA

Dates are the sheet-anchor of history. A great deal of uncertainty and difficulty with regard to the historicity of King Udayana of Kauśâmbī will be removed if we can once ascertain the probable date of his reign. Then the king of Kauśâmbī who figures so prominently in Buddhist legends and traditions, in Pâli canonical and Sanskrit literature, will at once become a living historical personality and the events of his reign assume a political significance. The task is beset with dangers, but the importance of it justifies attempting it. The data available are meagre, and are mainly literary. The method adopted, therefore, to fix the chronology of Udayana is mathematical deduction, some later-day dates of impeccable certainty gathered from Mauryan history providing the major premises for our reasonings and conclusions. The periods of reign assigned to dynastic kings in the Purâṇas and the Ceylonese Chronicles—the *Dipavaṁsa* and the *Mahavaṁsa*—and references in Pâli canonical Texts have provided the links in the chain of arguments.

The only scholar known to me who has

until now made any attempt to give a date to King Udayana's reign is Dr. Pradhan. He calculates Udayana to have reigned from 500 B.C. to 490 B.C.[1] While unable to accept the date of Udayana's accession given by Dr. Pradhan as correct I must admit that he has hit the most satisfactory approximate time. Dr. Pradhan's purpose, however, was not to find a satisfactory solution of the problem of the chronology of Udayana's reign, but to find the date of the Great War of the Mahâbhârata. The finding of the dates of dynastic kings on the Purâṇic data was only ancillary to his main purpose, namely 'to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of dating the Mahâbhârata War', to which he devoted the last four chapters of his book.

The date of Alexander's invasion of India (327-325 B.C.) and the date of his death (323 B. C.) are important landmarks for the chronology of early Indian history. It is not that we do not find dates mentioned in the Purâṇas, but the system used therein is defective. It was necessary to start from a date of impeccable basis to construct the Mauryan chronology. The Greek data provided us with that starting point. Candragupta's accession to the throne took place a few

[1] Pradhan, p. 247.

years after Alexander's retirement from India and probably after the great general's death. B. C. 321 has been accepted as the most probable date of Candragupta's accession.[2] It may have been a few years earlier or later, but certainly not earlier than 325 B.C. and not much later than 321 B.C. So, accepting 321 B.C. as the year of accession of Candragupta to the throne of Magadha, we may bring into use the data provided in the ancient literature for the purpose of finding the dates of pre-Mauryan kings of the various *janapadas* who were contemporaries of the Buddha and of whom King Udayana was one. Another important fact to be noticed in this connection is the date of the Buddha's *mahâparnibbâna*. Calculating on the basis of the length of the reigns of Śaisunâga and the Nanda kings given in the Purâṇas, Dr. Vincent Smith built up a chronology of the pre-Mauryan kings of Magadha, and places Ajâtaśatru's accession in c. 502 B.C. and the period of his reign 27 years.[3] Thus, accepting the Buddha's *mahâparnibbâna* to be in 487 B.C., as he does, Vincent Smith makes Ajâtaśatru survive the

[2] Thomas-C. H. I. vol. I. pp. 471-473. According to Dr. Vincent Smith the accession of Candragupta is 322 B.C. (E. H. I. p. 196). Mr. N. Bhattashali attempts to make it B.C. 313 (J. R. A. S., 1933) which is difficult to accept.

[3] E. H. I. Appendix C., p. 44. f.

the Buddha only two years. But according to the *Mahâvaṁsa* Ajâtaśatru reigned eight years after the death of the Buddha. Add eight years to 27, then substract the sum from B.C. 502, and you will get B.C. 483 as the year of the Buddha's death. Thus while Dr. Smith was surprisingly accurate in building up the chronology on the Purâṇic data, his neglect of the Ceylonese chronicles led him into the slight discrepancy pointed out above.[4]

We can arrive at the same approximate conclusion with regard to the date of the Buddha's death by a different process, with the help of other independent data. According to the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahâvaṁsa* the coronation of Aśoka took place 218 years after the death of the Buddha.[5] Now, according to the Ceylonese chronicles Candragupta reigned for 24 years and his son Bindusāra reigned for 28

[4] Dr. Charpenthier makes the date of the *parinibbana* 477 B.C. (vide his article in Ind. Ant., p. 173. ff.) The Buddhists hold the Mahâparinibbāna to have occurred in 443 B.C. According to the Maha-Bodhi Society's reckoning the year 1934 is the 2477th year of the Mahâparinibbâna. It is difficult to accept any of these views.

[5] Dv. VI. I. "Dve satâni ca vassâni aṭṭhârasa vassâni ca Sambuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Piyadassano" Mu. (P. T. s.) ch. v. p. 30:

"Jinanibbâṇato pacchâ pure tassâbhisekato sâṭṭhârasaṃ vassasatadvayaṃ evam vijâniyaṃ."

years.[6] Therefore, accepting B. C. 321, the year of Candragupta's accession, as a correct landmark of the Mauryan chronology, Aśoka's accession to the throne falls in 269 B.C. Now, according to the Kalinga Edict Aśoka conquered the kingdom of Kalinga in the eighth year after his coronation.[7] Again, some years passed between his accession to the throne and his coronation. According to Dr. Smith the gap is one of four years.[8] Therefore Aśoka's coronation took place in 265 B.C., if the Ceylonese chronicle is to be believed. Add

[6] All authorities—the Purâṇas, *Dipavaṁsa*, *Mahavâṁsa*, Buddhaghoṣa, and the Burmese tradition—agree as to the length of Candragupta's reign. The Purâṇas differ from the Ceylonese accounts as to Bindusāra's period of reign, which was 25 years according to the former and 28 years according to the latter.

[7] XIII R. E. *Aṭhavashâbhisitahâ devânam piyasha Piyadashine lâgine A (stava) sha-avhisita (sa de) vana priasa Priadraśi (sa) raño*

Kalinga v. j.
Kalingya vijita (.).

[8] Dr. Smith rejects the Ceylonese tradition and accepts the northern tradition as to the cause of the delay of Aśoka's coronation. According to the former Aśoka killed his 99 brothers before he could firmly establish himself on the throne. According to the latter, he fought his elder brother Susima alone. The story of the northern school, according to Dr. Smith, was invented by monks to place a dark background of Aśoka's early wickedness behind the bright picture of his mature piety. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that the delay was due to the fact that Aśoka attained his 25th year, the traditional age of royal *abhiṣeka*, three or four years after his accession. (J. B. O. R. S. 1917, p. 348).

218 years to 265, and you get 483, which is the year of the Buddha's *parinibbâna.*

If then 483 B.C. is the most credible date for the death of the Buddha, he must have been born in 563 B.C., as he was eighty years old when he chose his *parinibbâna* at Kusinârâ. There may be a great deal of controversy as to the exact date of his birth, but there is none as to the length of the life he lived, which is acknowledged to be eighty years mentioned in the Pâlī canons. And as the Pâlī texts—our only available source on the subject—inform us that he was 29 years old at the time of his great Renunciation, and 36 years old when he attained the Buddhahood, this last event must have happened about 527 B.C. We also learn from the Pâli texts that the Buddha visited Kauśâmbī at least twice—in the sixth and in the ninth year of his ministry. The first visit of the Buddha to Kauśâmbī, therefore, took place in 521 B.C. and the second in 518 B.C. During both these visits King Udayana reigned in Kauśâmbī. Now that we have been able to find the probable period of his reign, let us see if we can hit the probable date of his accession. It was during his first visit to Kauśâmbī, we have already noted, that the Buddha delivered the Bodhi-Râjakumâra-Sutta for the instruction of the prince

of Kauśâmbī while he was the viceroy of the Bhagga country. Prince Bodhi was supposed to have passed his period of adolescence by that time to be considered fit to be put in charge of the government of a province.[9] So if Prince Bodhi was at least twenty-one years old when he was the viceroy of the Bhagga country, and when the Buddha paid his first visit to his father's kingdom, King Udayana was at least forty-two years old at a modest estimation in 521 B.C. King Udayana was evidently in the prime of his youth when Vâsuladattâ, the princess of Avanti, and the mother of Bodhi-Kumâra, fell in love with her father's handsome captive. So we presume that King Udayana married Vâsuladattâ in 543 B.C., when he

[9] I surmise it was a newly conquered province, which, according to my friend Tripiṭakācârya Râhula Sankrityâna, the great Pâlī scholar and tourist, is identical with the present Mirzapur District, the Suṁsumâra Giri being identical with the present Chunar hill. He first stated this in his book *Buddhacaryā*, pp. 75 and 175. I had also a talk with him on this subject, and was satisfied on the point that the Suṁsumâra Giri of the Bhagga country mentioned in the Majjhima Nikâya irresistibly suggests the Chunar hill as the nearest place of that description to Kauśâmbī. The place was evidently conquered by Udayana about whose war-like activities we find plenty of references in Pâli and Tibetan texts. The Bhaggas are mentioned in the *Mahâparinibbâna sutta* of the Dīgha Nikâya as a republican clan. This lends added point to our suggestion that a minor prince could not have been appointed to rule over a sturdy, independence-loving republican people.

was twenty years old. If the Prince, the first fruit of the wedlock, (and the only issue that we know of)[10] was born a year later, i.e. in 542 B.C., he was twenty-one years old in 521 B.C., the year of the Buddha's first visit to Kauśâmbī. We know from the Pâli sources that Udayana was *reigning* on the throne of Kauśâmbī when the incident leading to his romantic marriage with Vâsuladattâ took place; and if he was at least a year on the throne before that event, he ascended the throne in 544 B.C. Thus we may venture to determine King Udayana's chronology as follows:

Birth	563 B.C.
Accession	544 B.C.
Matrimonial Alliance with Avantī	543 B.C.
Birth of Bodhikumâra ..	542 B.C.

According to Peta-Vatthu commentary Udayana survived the Buddha,[11] but it does not mention the number of years. If the fact of survival mentioned in the Pâli commentary is to be believed, Dr. Pradhan's suggestion that Udayana died in 490 B.C. has to be rejected.

[10] Kat. Sat. Sag.
[11] Pet. Vat. Com. 140.

That event has to be placed certainly after 483 B.C. And considering 81 years of age is a sufficiently good old age for a man to live we may place the date of Udayana's death in 482 B.C. more reasonably than in 490 B.C., which conflicts with the evidence found in the Peta Vatthu commentary.

APPENDIX I

The genealogical tree of the kings of Kauśâmbī from Parikshit to Kṣemaka[1]

Parikṣit.
|
Janmejaya.
|
Satânīka.
|
Asvamedhadatta.
|
Adhisīmakrishna.
|
Nicakṣu.
|
Uṣna.
|
Citraratha.
|
Suciratha.
|
Bṛiṣnimant.
|
Suṣena.
|
Sunītha.
|
Nṛcakṣu.
|
Sukhiva.
|
Paripluta.
|
Sunaya.
|
Medhâven.
|
Nrpañjaya.
|
Tigma.
|
Bṛhadratha.
|
Vasudâman.
|
Satanika II.
|
Udayana.
|
Naravahana-Bodhi.
|
Daṇḍapani.
|
Niramitra.
|
Kṣemaka.

[1] Va, 99. 249-277. Mt. 50, 56-87; Bh. IX, 22, 33-44; Kat. Sar. Sag.

FROM THE DEATH OF UDAYANA TO THE THIRD CENTURY B. C.

I. The Last Four Kings of the House of Udayana

The Purâṇas mention only four kings of Kauśâmbī after Udayana. They are *Vahinara*, *Daṇḍapāṇi*, *Niramitra*, and *Kṣemaka*. According to the Pâli canon the son and successor of Udayana was Bodhi. Dr. Pradhan has prepared a list of the lineal descendants of Arjuna Pândava. Among those of this line who reigned in Kauśâmbī he names the son and successor of Udayana as *Vahinara-Naravâhana-Bodhi*. Dr. Pradhan has evidently drawn this list from the Purâṇic and Pâli data as well as from Kathâ-Sarit-Sâgara, as the name suggests. He, however, does not mention the Pâli data in the list of authorities given by him in the foot-note.[1] But it can be safely assumed that the Purâṇic Naravâhana can be identified with the Pâli Bodhi-Kumâra. Pâli literature, however, does not make clear whether Bodhi actually reigned as king of Kauśâmbī after Udayana.

[1] Pradhan, p. 65.

There is no positive evidence either way. The doubt of such a scholar as Dr. Rhys Davids whether Bodhi-Kumâra succeeded to his father's throne[2] is evidently based on the fact that nowhere in the Pâli Pitakâs is he ever mentioned as *King* Bodhi. He is always mentioned there as Bodhi-Kumâra or *Prince* Bodhi. But it should be noted that the Pâli Pitakâs have been collated and made up of the sayings of the Buddha in the First Great Buddhist Council in the *Sattapaṇṇi* Cave at Râjagriha a few weeks after the death of the Buddha.[3] The Buddha having died before Udayana he could not possibly have seen Prince Bodhi installed on his father's throne. He could therefore have had no opportunity to mention him in his sayings as King Bodhi. We are therefore entitled to assume on the authority of the Purâṇas that Naravâhana-Bodhi was the second king of Kauśâmbī from Udayana. The only information of a political nature that we get about Bodhi-Kumâra from the Pâli Piṭakâs is that he was the

[2] C. H. I., p. 187.

[3] A. G. I., p. 187. Also see *Sumangalavilâsinī*: "On the 21st day of the Buddha's *parinibbâna*, five hundred *theras* who were all arhats and possessed of analytical knowledge were selected. The Sattapaṇṇi Cave in Râjagriha was selected as the place of the meeting of the Council and the recital of the Buddha's sayings."

viceroy of the Bhagga country,[4] and that he ruled that country from his viceregal seat at Sumsumâra Giri.[5] The Bhaggas were a republican people[6] at the time of the Buddha. They were the descendants of the Epic Bhârgavas,[7] and as such were closely connected with the Vatsas, as cousins. The Bhagga country and the Suṁsumâra Giri have been identified, as we have seen, with the present Mirzapur District and the Chunar hill respectively.[8] Bodhi built a beautiful palace in his capital and called it 'The Lotus'.[9] He was expert in riding elephants.[10] He was evidently a capable prince and a worthy son of his father. The *Matsya* describes him as the 'brave king Vahinara.'[11]

The Buddha was staying at Suṁsumâra Giri when the new palace *The Lotus* was completed. Prince Bodhi, desiring to have it sanctified by the dust of the holy Buddha, invited him to a feast in his palace, and served the meal to him and his followers with his own hands. The Lord's meal

[4] See *ante* p. 32, note.
[5] M. N. 11. 91-97.
[6] D. N. 11., p. 167.
[7] See *ante* p. 19.
[8] See *ante* p. 32, note.
[9] M. N. 11, 91-97.
[10] Ibid.
[11] "*Viro rajo Vahinarah*". Pargiter, p. 7.

over and done, the prince like a humble seeker after truth, sat on a low seat to one side of the Buddha, and listened to the instructions contained in the famous *Bodhi-Kumâra-Sutta*, as a result of which he took refuge in the 'Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgna', and asked the Lord to 'accept him as his follower, who has found an abiding refuge while life lasts.'[12] This conclusively proves that Bodhi became an ardent follower of the Buddha while he was a prince, and must have been an ardent and great patron of the new faith after he became king.

Neither the Pâli literature nor the post-Buddhist Sanskrit literature mentions anything of the three Paurava or Kuru kings of Kauśâmbī after Bodhi, mentioned in the Purâṇas. The second and the third king after Udayana were, as has already been seen, Danḍapāṇi and NIRAMITRA. The fourth king was Kṣemaka with whom, according to Pargiter, 'the Kuru line of kings came to an end in the Kali Age.'[13]

II. NANDA RULE

After Kṣemaka no king of Kauśâmbī, as we have seen above, figures in the Purâṇic lists. This probably means the extinction of the independence

[12] M. N. II, 97.
[13] Pargiter, p. 66.

of Kauśâmbī, which was presumably absorbed in the Nanda Empire. The NANDAS of Magadha were the direct descendants of the Śaiśunâga kings, and were considered Sudras on account of the last of the Śaiśunâga kings, Mahânandin, marrying a Śūdra woman and thereby losing caste for his children.[14] Mahânandin's son, Mahâpadmananda, is the first of the Nanda kings of Magadha. The Nandas, nine in number, comprising only two generations, Mahâpadmananda and his eight sons, included nine kings who reigned in Magadha one after the other. The total period of the reigns of the nine Nandas, according to all the Purâṇas, covered one hundred years. They had inherited the suzerainty of North India from the Śaiśunâgas and largely extended it. The Nanda dynasty came to an end in 321 B. C., when Candragupta Maurya ascended the throne of Magadha. So the period of Nanda sovereignty started in 421 B.C. Now, three generations of kings reigned in Kauśâmbī between Udayana and Kṣemaka. Allowing 24 years for each step and assuming Udayana to have died in 482 B.C., as we have seen,[15] Kṣemeka ascended the throne in 410 B.C., and probably lost his independence during the rule of the first Nanda king

[14] C. H. I., p. 313.
[15] See *ante* p. 34.

who was admittedly a great conqueror.[16] Thus Kauśâmbī in all probability remained a part of the Nanda Empire through the greater part of the fifth century B.C. and the first two decades of the fourth century B.C.

III. Mauryan Rule

Kauśâmbī was undoubtedly subject to the **Mauryan Rule.** Although we have no evidence to connect Kauśâmbī with the rule of Magadha in the time of Candragupta Maurya, it is improbable that his empire which stretched from Magadha far upto the northwest, including the present Afghanisthan and Beluchisthan, should not have included it. Fortunately there is epigraphic evidence to show that Kauśâmbī was a 'district' in the empire of Aśoka, ruled by a *Mahâmatra*. The Allâhâbâd Stone Pillar of Aśoka contains his two inscriptions. One is known as the Queen's Edict and the other as the Kauśâmbī Edict. The latter, i.e., the Kauśâmbī Edict, contains a *śâsana* or order to the 'Mahâmâtra of the district of Kauśâmbī' to expel a Bhikshu or Bhikshuni as soon as he or she is detected in the act of creating a schism. Beyond this, the political history of Kauśâmbī during this period is a complete blank.

[16] Hâthigumphâ Inscription.

KAUŚÂMBĪ IN THE SECOND CENTURY B. C.

I. KING BAHASATIMITA (BAHASATIMITRA)

The veil of darkness is satisfactorily lifted in the second century B.C. when we get the name of a king of Kauśâmbī from numismatic and epigraphic sources. Four copper (including bronze) coins found by Cunningham at Kosam, the site of the ancient Kauśâmbī, have been assigned by numismatists to the second century B.C.[1] Three of these coins are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and one is in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. One of these coins bears the name of Bahasatimita who ruled in Kauśâmbī.[2] This numismatic evidence derived from the Bahasatimita Coin finds a valuable corroboration from the Pabhosâ Cave Inscription.[3] The Pabhosâ Rock is about two miles west of the

[1] C. C. I. M. p. 155.

[2]

Metal.	*Obverse.*	*Reverse.*
AE	Bodhi tree in railing, with 'taurine' to l., below, in early Brâhmi character, (Ba) hasatimita (sa).	Defaced; probably a bull; in poor condition.

C. A. I., PL. V. 14.

[3] Ep. Ind. vol. II, pp. 242-243.

ruins of Kauśâmbī. The inscription records that Asadhasena, king of Ahicchatra and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimita, had a cave constructed for the residence of the Kassyapiya Arhats, in the tenth year of Odaka.[4] It has not yet been definitely ascertained who this Odaka was. The plain reading of the inscription would suggest that he was the king of Kauśâmbī and was in the tenth year of his reign when Âṣâdhasena constructed the cave. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal renders 'उदकसम दसमे सबछरे' in the tenth year of Odraka's reign and suggests that he was the 'fifth of the Sunga kings.' Prof. Rapson accepts this suggestion and bases on it his conclusion that Bahasatimita was a 'feudatory king of the Sungas.'[5] There are difficulties in the way of accepting Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion, and they are greater in the way of accepting Prof. Rapson's conclusion. They will be discussed later under a separate heading. Prof. Rapson's conclusion would lead us to believe that Bahasatimita was a contemporary of Âṣâdhasena, the donor of the cave. But there is nothing in the inscription to bear out this belief. It only indicates a close relationship of the donor with the king Bahasatimita of Kauśâmbī,

[4] See Appendix II, p. 58, where this has been more fully discussed.

[5] C. H. I., p. 524.

which entitled the former to construct the cave in the territory of the latter, and in the close vicinity of his capital. I suggest that the name of Bahasatimita occurs in the inscription merely to indicate this relationship with the donor, and that Odaka was actually reigning in Kauśâmbī when the cave was constructed. The relationship of the donor with Odaka may not have been so close. The inscription perpetuates both names, that of the former king who was a relative of the donor, and of the then king in whose territory the cave was constructed. The donor is the king of Ahicchatra, (mod. Râmnagar in Rohilkhand) which was the capital of the ancient Northern Pañcâla. Allowing for the controversial portion of the inscription, one fact emerges certain from the two evidences[6] discussed above, and that is that Bahasatimita was the king of Kauśâmbī in the second century B.C., and that the two royal houses of Kauśâmbī and Pañcâla were closely connected by matrimony in that period. We have seen that Kurus reigned for a considerable time over Kauśâmbī; it is also a fact that the Kurus and the Pañcâlas were matrimonially connected in the Epic Age. We now find again in the second century B.C. that the two royal houses were closely connected by matrimony.

[6] The Bahasatimita Coin and Pabhosâ inscription.

Bahasatimita was also related by matrimony to the royal house of Mathurâ. This is proved by the famous Morâ inscription,[7] now in the Mathurâ Museum, in which the name of the king of Kauśâmbī and of his daughter Yaśamâta appear, the latter as the author of the dedicatory inscription. The inscription is as follows:

Jivaputaye Râjabharâye Brihâsvâtimita (dhi) tu Yaśamâtayē kâritaṁ.

It is written in Brâhmi characters of the Maurya-Śunga period and records the dedication of a well. Translated into English it means, "made by order of Yaśamâtâ, the daughter of Brihaspatimita, the king's consort (and) the mother of living sons."[8] Dr. Vogel has given good reasons to suppose that Brihaspatimita or Brihaspatimitra of the Morâ inscription is the Bahasatimita of the Kauśâmbī coin. He assigns the inscription on palæographical grounds to the third or second century B.C., and that is the approximate date, as we have seen, that has been adopted for

[7] The site of the discovery of the above inscription was Morâ, 7 miles west of Mathurâ city. Dr. Vogel, while he was officiating Director of Archaeology (1910-11) found at that place eight pieces of large-sized bricks on which the inscription was incised in Brâhmī characters of the Maurya-Śunga period. J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 120.

[8] Dr. Vogel's translation. Evidently the learned epigraphist takes the partially preserved letters (*dhi*) *tu* to mean *duhitâ* or daughter.

Bahasatimita's coin.[9] Unfortunately the name of the king of Mathurâ to whom Bahasatimita married his daughter Yasmâta is not mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is an important one and falls in the same category as the Pabhosâ inscription, as establishing the relationship of the royal house of Kauśâmbī with that of Mathurâ, in the second century B.C.

II. Was Bahasatimita a Feudatory King of Kausambi under Odraka, the Fifth Śunga King?

The question arises: Was Kauśâmbī a feudatory state of the Śungas in the time of Bahasatimita? On the suggestion of Mr. Jayaswal that Odaka of the Pabhosâ inscription was the fifth Śunga king Odraka of Magadha, Prof. Rapson has concluded that Kauśâmbī was a feudatory state of the Śungas about that period.[10] In another place he states it more clearly thus: "We may infer from the inscriptions at Pabhosâ that, in the second century B.C., Pañcâla (Ahicchatra) and Vatsa (Kauśâmbī) were governed by the same royal family, and that both kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty of the Śungas."[11]

[9] See *ante* p. 42.
[10] C. H. I., p. 521.
[11] Ibid., pp. 525-526.

The suggestion of Mr. Jayaswal is of doubtful value, because (1) there is no strong reason to suppose that the name Odaka in the inscription should not bear, as we have seen,[12] the plain meaning of his being the king of Kauśâmbī at the time when the inscription was recorded; (2) Odraka or Andhraka, the fifth Śunga king, is stated in the Purâṇas to have reigned for two years,[13] whereas the inscription suggests that he reigned for at least ten years. Appraising Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion as 'acute and plausible' and basing his conclusion thereon, Prof. Rapson meets the second difficulty by supposing that the Purâṇic date was a 'probable error creeping into the text of the Purâṇas.'[14] But he has not adduced any reasons for his suggestion. Even allowing that Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion that Odaka of the Pabhosâ inscription was the fifth Śunga king, and that of Prof. Rapson that the Purâṇic date was an error, the learned Professor's conclusion that Bahasatimita was a feudatory prince of Kauśâmbī under Odraka is untenable due to several other considerations:

[12] See *ante* p. 43.

[13] *Vasumitraḥ suto bhâvyo daśa varśâni pârthivaḥ tato' ndhrakaḥ same dve tu tasya putro bhaviṣyati*—Vasumitra will reign for ten years. Then his son Andhraka will reign for two years.—Pargiter, P. 34,

[14] 5. C. H. I., p. 521.

First, Prof. Rapson does not deny that the Bahasatimita of the Pabhosâ inscription and of the Kauśâmbī coin is the same person. But the Kauśâmbī coin does not contain any other name than Bahasatimita. If he was a feudatory king, the coin issued by him would have contained the name of his liege-lord in addition to his own. The issuing of coins is a privilege commonly enjoyed by independent sovereigns. And if in some instances this privilege was extended to feudatory rulers, those coins contained the names of the vassal king and the liege-lord. For instance, consider the silver coins found by Sir John Marshall at Taxila of Sapedana and of Satavastra who were the governors of the eastern provinces of the great Indo-Parthian King Gondopharnes or Gondophares.[15] These coins bear the portrait and symbol of the liege-lord Gondopharnes with the lofty title of 'GREAT KING, SUPREME KING OF KINGS' as well as the name of Sapedana or Satavastra, as the case may be, with the humbler title of 'GREAT KING, KING OF KINGS.' Prof. Rapson suggests that the allegiance of Sapedana and Satavastra to their suzerain, Gondopharnes, was 'merely nominal.'[16] His

[15] Marshall—A Guide to Taxila, p. 14.
[16] C. H. I., p. 580.

suggestion is correct, for even nominal allegiance would warrant joint names. But this cannot be said of the Bahasatimita's coin.

A similar proof can be obtained from some of the copper coins of the last Indo-Greek king Harmaios,[17] issued presumably during the latter part of his reign when he came under the control of the Kuṣâṇa king Kujula Kadphises. These coins bear the name of Kujula Kadphises in *Kharoṣṭhī* and that of Harmaios in Greek letters. Sir John Marshall says that 'Kujula Kadphises and Hermaios wrested the Kabul valley and Taxila from the Parthians.'[18] If Marshall is to be believed, Hermaios was an independent king of a portion of the northwestern portion of India and not of Kabul, when the Kuṣâṇa chief sought his help to oust the Parthians from their eastern possessions. It is, however, clear that after their conquest Hermaios was allowed by Kujula to rule the Kabul valley, and probably also Taxila, and the privilege of issuing coins, but had to acknowledge at least the nominal sovereignty of Kujula, as his coins bearing joint names indicate. Hermaios

[17] *Vide* C. C. I. M., vol. I, p. 33. I. AE. Coin with the joint names of Harmaios and Kujula Kadphises. The *obv.* contains the bust of the Greek king and his name in Greek letters. The *rev.* contains the words '*Kuyulakasasa kusana-yavugasa dhramathidasa*' and the figure of Heracles standing.

[18] A Guide to Taxila, p. 16.

is the last Indo-Greek king hitherto known to us from the numismatic sources, and it is evident that his entire possessions were afterwards directly ruled by the Kuṣâṇa chief, probably after the former's death.[19]

On the other hand, there are coins of Hermaios, both silver and copper, which were evidently issued by him earlier than the joint copper coins discussed above, during the days of his independence. For instance, a silver coin of Hermaios[20] contains on the *rev.* busts of king and queen and their legends and titles and on the *obv.* in Kharoṣṭhī, '*maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa*', below '*Kaliyapaya*.' Another silver coin bears the name and the bust of the king alone.[21] There are several other silver and copper coins of Hermaios of this kind,[22] indicative of his independence, in clear contrast with his subordination to Kujula as shown by the copper coins bearing the joint names.

[19] Dr. Ray Chaudhary says, "Kujula Kadphises, the Kushân king, succeeded Hermaios in the Kabul valley." P. H. A. I., p. 311. Acc. to Dr. V. Smith Kujula 'subjugated' him during his life-time. C. C. I. M. vol. I, p. 4.

[20] C. C. I. M., p. 31; 1. I. M. AR.

[21] Ibid., p. 32. I. M. 1. AR.

[22] Ibid., pp. 32-33. There are 26 such coins catalogued by Dr. Vincent Smith from the collections in the Indian Museum, and the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

We may also cite, as examples, some coins bearing joint names struck by the Indo-Scythian kings, Azes I. and Azilises, indicative of the subordination of the one to the other. King Azes I. struck some coins bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of Azilises in *Kharoṣṭhī* on the reverse. Then again there are some coins of Azilises which bear his own name in Greek and that of Azes in *Kharoṣṭhī.* Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Smith point out that these two joint types of coins 'prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate colleague of an Azes and that an Azes similarly was subsequently the subordinate colleague of Azilises.'[23] Instances can be multiplied, but the few I have discussed should be enough for our purpose.

So in the absence of a second name on the Bahasatimita's coin, and in the absence of any other symbol to suggest its feudatory relation with the Śunga king Odraka of Magadha, I take it that Bahasatimita was an independent sovereign.

Second, The above view finds additional support when we consider the political conditions of the Śungas in the time of their King Odraka. Puṣyamitra overthrew the last of the Mauryas and founded

[23] P. H. A. I., p. 299.

the Śunga dynasty in Magadha in 184 B.C. The Mauryan empire had broken up during the days of Asoka's weak successors. Puṣyamitra brought back almost the whole of Northern India, including, of course, Kauśâmbī, to the imperial suzerainty of Magadha.[24] But the Śunga supremacy was short-lived, confined probably to the reign of Puṣhyamitra or at best to that of his two immediate successors. Prof. Rapson doubts whether 'Puṣhyamitra was able to hold it to the end and hand it on to his successors.'[25] There is no doubt that Puṣyamitra was the only Śunga king about whose exploits we hear from other sources besides the Purâṇas. Of course, his son Agnimitra, while he was viceroy of Vidiśâ,[26] and his grandson Vasumitra figured as heroes in one of Kalidasa's dramas—Malavikâgnimitra, the former as the lover of the princess of Vidarbha,[27] the latter as the guardian of his grandfather's sacrificial horse. This is all we know of them while they were princes and acted as provincial

[24] "Pushyamitra's authority embraced the territories in the Gangetic basin, corresponding with modern Behar, Tirhut, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It did not include the Punjab." E. H. I., pp. 198-99

[25] C. H. I., p. 527.

[26] Modern Besnagar near Bhilsa and 120 miles east of Ujjain (C. I).

[27] Modern Berar.

viceroys of Puṣyamitra. But as kings we hear nothing more of their exploits except their names in the dynastic lists of the Purâṇas. The total reigns of Agnimitra and of his two sons Vasuyeshtha and Vasumitra are abnormally short, amounting together to 25 years.[28] The total reigns of the next four Sunga kings are likewise short, covering in all 17 years.[29] No account of their activities is to be found anywhere. Prof. Rapson says, "No certain traces of the latter Sungas or of their feudatories have yet been found in the region of Magadha."[30] Under the title 'the later Sungas' Dr. V. A. Smith groups all the Sunga rulers from Agnimitra, the son of Puṣyamitra, downwards as unimportant kings with no record of achievements, and each enjoying an abnormally short period of reign, during whose time the empire began to break up. So it is clear that the Sunga empire which started breaking up during the life-time of its founder's son and grandsons could not possibly retain its hold on such a distant province as Kauśâmbī in the time of the fifth Sunga king Odraka. This becomes clearer from another consideration. Puṣyamitra's reign, as we have seen, started in

[28] Pargiter, p. 70.
[29] Ibid.
[30] C. H. I., p. 107.

184 B.C., and lasted for 36 years. His son Agnimitra and his two grandsons Vasujyeṣtha and Vasumitra, together reigned for 25 years. If we add up the total reigns and substract the sum from 184 B.C., which is the date of Puṣyamitra's accession, we get B.C. 123, the year when the fifth Sunga king Odraka is supposed to have ascended the throne; and this date falls within the period assigned to Bahasatimita's coin.[31] I therefore conclude that Kauśâmbī was an independent state in the time of the fifth Sunga king Odraka and that Bahasatimita struck coins in his own name as its sovereign. As an additional evidence of the view I hold, the instance of Agnimitra's coins may be cited. A large number of coins have been found in Râmnagar (District Bareilly, U. P.) in the ruins of the ancient Ahicchatra, the capital of Northern Pancâla. These coins bear the royal names of Agnimitra, Bhadraghoṣa, Bhânumitra, Bhūmimitra, Indramitra, Phalgunimitra, and Sūryamitra.[32] On account of Agnimitra's name being found on one set of coins, some numismatists mistook them to have belonged to Agnimitra Sunga of the Purâṇic lists, and the hero of the *Malavikâgnimitra* drama.[33] Cunningham has clearly shown that these coins do

[31] C. C. I. M., p. 155.
[32] Ibid., p. 185.
[33] Ibid.,

not belong to the second Sunga king but to an independent king of Ahicchatra bearing that name.[34] It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the Pancñâla coins, issued out of the mint of Ahicchatra, and the Kauśâmbī coins, a large number of which have been found in Kosam, the site of the ancient Kauśâmbī, fall in the same category and were issued when these two states enjoyed an independent status.

Third, Consider the Barhut Gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti, which is in clear contrast with the Pabhosâ Cave inscription of Aṣâḍhasena. The former clearly proves the sovereignty of the Sungas over Barhut, the latter does not contain any word to prove the Sunga sovereignty over Pabhosâ. The Barhut inscription records that "*within the dominion of the Sungas* the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vâtsiputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputa Âgaraju who was the son of king Gârgiputra Viśvadeva."[35] 'Sunganam raje' in

[34] C. A. I., p. 80.

[35] Sunganam raje rano Gagiputasa
Visadevasa pautena Gotiputasa
Âgarajusa putena Vâchiputena
Dhanabhūtina kâritaṃ torânaṃ
Silâkaṃmaṃto ca upaṃna—Barhut Text that can be actually read in stone or in Cunningham's eye copy; (a) pillar of E. Gateway.

the Barhut inscription clearly proves, as I have said, Śunga supremacy over the region of the inscription, but there is no such word in the Pabhosâ inscription to prove, I repeat, that the place was '*within the dominion*' of the Śungas. The words in the Pabhosâ inscription are only 'in the tenth year of Odaka (*Odakasa dasamesabacchare*).[36] It is hard to believe that any inscription in the territory of a subordinate prince should not have contained any word to convey his relation to his sovereign prince. The Barhut inscription of Dhanabhūti, on the contrary, shows that it was the practice in those days for a subordinate prince to express the relationship.

So I hold that Prof. Rapson's conclusion of Śunga sovereignty over Kauśâmbī in the time of the Pabhosâ inscription appears to be incorrect in the light of the facts discussed above and which may be summarised again as follows:

(1) *The Bahasatimitra coin, which does not contain any other name except his own and which was issued in the time when the Śunga empire had broken up, proves that the author of the coin was an independent power.*

(2) *The Śunga Empire had broken up before*

[36] See appendix II where the Pabhosâ inscription has been fully discussed.

their king Odraka ascended the throne and was confined probably to Vidiśa and its immediate neighbourhood by the time Odraka became king.

(3) *The words in the Pabhosâ inscription are in clear contrast with those in the Barhut inscription. The latter conclusively prove the Sunga sovereignty over Barhut, the former do not prove the Sunga sovereignty over Pabhosâ.*

APPENDIX II

The Pabhosa Rock Inscription[1]

The Pabhosâ Rock is about two miles west of Kosam, the site of ancient Kauśâmbī. The inscription is in two parts incised in two different places on the rock. One is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave, and the other on the rock outside the cave. Each in itself is incomplete, and forms part of one whole. The two inscriptions must be read together to get the full meaning. The inscription on the outer rock outside the cave is as follows:

Text

१ राज्ञो गोपाली पुत्र स
२ वह् सति मित्र स
३ मातुलेन गोपाली या
४ वैहिदरी पुत्रेण [आसा]
५ आसाढ सेनेन लेनं
६ कारितं [उदाकसम] दस
७ मे सवछरे कश्शपीयानं
८ [ता] नं – – – ो – ि – – – [॥]

[1] EP. Ind. vol. II., pp. 242-43.

Appendix II

TRANSLATION

"By Âsâḍhasena, the son of Gopâli Vaihidari (i. e. Vaihidara-Princes), and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimita, son of Gopâli, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Odaka for the residence of the Kassyapiya Arhats."

According to Dr. Buhler the Kassyapiya Arhats mean either the Buddhist Arhats of the Kassyapiya school or the pupils of Bardhamana who was a Kaśyapa by *gotra*.[2] The fact that there is a beautiful Jaina temple on the flat surface of the rock which can be reached by a flight of magnificent stone stairs lends support to the correctness of the latter suggestion of the learned scholar. There is also a Jaina Dharamśâlâ in the village of Pabhosâ where on a tablet of red sandstone a votive inscription recording the building of a Jaina temple has been found.[3]

The other part of the inscription found inside the cave runs as follows:

TEXT

१ अघीक्षत्राया रायो शोणकायन पुत्रस्य वंग पालस्य
२ पुत्रस्य रायो तेवनी पुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण
३ वैहीदरी पुत्रेण आसादसेनेन कारितं [॥]

[2] Ibid.
[3] J. R. A. S. IV. 1927.

TRANSLATION

"Caused to be made by Âsâḍhasena, son of Vaihadari (Vaihidara-princes, and) son of king Bhagavata, son of Tevani (Traivarna-princes, and) son of king Vangapâla, son of Sonakâyana of Ahicchatra."

Dr. Fuhrer assigns the inscription to the 'second or first century B. C.' on palaeographical grounds.[4] King Bahasatimita of Kauśâmbī has been proved to have belonged to the second century B. C. on numismatic grounds,[5] and he was the immediate predecessor of Odaka, who, as seems likely, was the king of Kauśâmbi at the time of the inscription. The inscription is of special historical value as it enables us to construct the following genealogy of the two royal houses of Kauśâmbī and Ahicchatra in the second century B.C.

Kauśâmbī	*Ahicchatra*
	Sonakâyana
	Vaṁgapala
	Bhagawata
Gopala = Daughter	Âṣâḍhasena
Bahasatimita	

[4] Ep. Ind. vol. 11.
[5] See *ante* p. 42.

Taking Odaka to be the king of Kauśâmbī at the time of the inscription I place him immediately after Bahasatimita, for there is no king of Kauśâmbī mentioned anywhere who comes between Bahasatimita and Odaka. Why the name of Bahasatimita was mentioned at all if he was not alive as king of Kauśâmbī at the time of the inscription can be satisfactorily explained: the author of the inscription was a close relation of Bahasatimita, being his maternal uncle. There is no evidence which I can find from the inscription or from any other source to establish the relationship of Odaka with Bahasatimita or with Ashâdhasena. Even if he was the son of Bahasatimita, his relationship with Āṣâḍhasena is not close enough to be mentioned in preference to that of the latter. Kauśâmbī was an independent kingdom to which the village of Pabhosâ, where the rock exists, belonged. What was then the claim which prompted Āṣâḍhasena to seek for permission to use the rock for the purpose of dedication except his very near relationship with the royal house of Kauśâmbī in the time of Odaka's predecessor? This explains why the name of Bahasatimita with the words indicating his relationship with the author of the inscription appears in it along with that of the reigning king of Kauśâmbī who gave the permission for it.

KAUŚÂMBĪ IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

The independence which Kauśâmbī enjoyed, as we have seen, during the time of the latter Śungas remained undisturbed during the whole of the first century B.C. The later Śungas retained a precarious hold on the imperial seat of India, Magadha, until 73 B.C., when they were replaced by the Kaṇvas. The Kaṇva rule in Magadha was too short to disturb the tranquillity of such distant provinces as Kauśâmbī and Ahicchatra. It lasted only 45 years[1] after which it was overthrown by the Andhras who came from the south about the close of the first century B.C. (28 B.C.) It is unlikely that the Andhras should have been able to extend their rule so far to the northwest within that short period. At least, there is no literary or archaeological reference to connect Kauśâmbī either with the imperial Kaṇvas or Andhras. On the other hand, there are coins found at Kosam which belong to the type of Bahasatimita's coins, and bear the names of their royal authors who evidently reigned in Kauśâmbī as independent kings.[2] These names are *Āsvaghoṣa, Jethamita, Devamitra,* and *Pavata.*

[1] E. H. I., p. 206.
[2] C. M. I. C., p. 146, and p. 155.

Dr. Smith assigns these coins to the second century B.C.,[3] and puts them in his catalogue after those of Bahasatimita. But it is not clear whether these kings reigned in Kauśâmbī before or after Bahasatimita. At least Dr. Smith has not thrown any light on this point. If these kings came after Bahasatimita, those coins may be on historical grounds assigned to the first century B.C., for the independent rule of Kauśâmbī under Bahasatimita could not begin long before the last quarter of the second century B.C. when the Śunga empire positively broke up, and Bahasatimita was followed by Odaka who reigned for more than ten years. The total reigns of these two kings should lead us to the close of the second century B.C., and therefore those four kings whose names appear on the coins may be reasonably assigned to the first century B.C., and as their coins indicate they reigned in Kauśâmbī as independent kings.[4]

[3] Ibid.

[4] This conclusion seems to find additional corroboration from a consideration of the political status of its neighbouring state of Northern Pancâla. A large number of coins discovered at Râmnagar, the site of the ancient Ahicchatra, the capital of Northern Pañcâla, which bear royal names, have been assigned by Dr. Smith to the first century B. C. (C. I. M. C.), pp. 185-188. This proves the independence of Ahicchatra beyond any doubt, and lends support to the view stated above.

KAUŚÂMBĪ DURING THE KUṢÂNA RULE

The independence of Kauśâmbī evidently remained undisturbed until it was absorbed in the Kuṣân empire. The discovery of a statue of the Buddha in March 1934, on which an inscription of Kaniṣka appears, lends epigraphic evidence to the fact that it was included in the empire of Kaniṣka and that it was conquered by him in or before the second year of his reign,[1] for the inscription is dated 'in the second year of Kaniṣka's reign.' The red-stone statue on the pedestal of which the inscription appears was the gift of a pious Buddhist lady to perpetuate the sacred memory of the Buddha's several visits to Kauśâmbī. Pâli canon bears testimony to the fact that the Buddha spent at least two rainy seasons in Kauśâmbī and gave discourses.[2] We have epigraphic evidence of Kaniṣka's conquest of Benares in or before the third year of his reign, i.e., a year later than that of Kauśâmbī. A giant red-stone Bodhisattva (*sic.*) statue discovered in the

[1] The inscription has been more fully dealt with on p. 107.

[2] See *ante* pp. 22-25.

Sârnath excavations and installed in the Sârnath Museum bears an inscription dated 'in the third year of Kaniṣka's reign.'[3] This shows that in his career of conquest towards the southeast, which extended as far as Magadha,[4] Kauśâmbī which fell in his way before Benâres was probably conquered in the second year of his reign and Benâres in the third.

[3] Ep. Ind., pp. 173-181.

[4] The fact that Kaniṣka carried away the famous Buddhist saint and scholar Aśvaghoṣa who acted as Vice-President of the Buddhist council held by the Emperor at Kundalavana Vihāra in Kashmir is considered by Dr. Smith as an evidence of his conquest of that city.—E. H. I., p. 260.

KAUŚÂMBĪ IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

I. VAKATAKA SUPREMACY

After the downfall of the Kuṣâna empire at the close of the second century A.D., India again broke up as usual into a number of independent states. Among the powers who ruled considerable kingdoms in the third century and the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. the Nâgas and the Vâkâtakas are the most important. We learn from the Purâṇas that the Nâgas ruled a considerable portion of Nothern India having established themselves in Vidiśâ, Padmâvatī, Kântipura, and Mathurâ.[1] The last of the Nâga kings, Ganapati Nâga of Mathurâ, is mentioned in the Allâhâbâd inscription of Samudragupta as one of the three kings of the Doâb who were killed in one day of the battle of Kauśâmbī about 345 A.D.[2] The Vâkâṭakas arose in the Central Deccan towards the close of the third century,[3] and later became a predominant power in Central India and ruled a considerable portion of Northern

[1] J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 72.
[2] See later, p. 68.
[3] P. H. A. I., p. 342.

India.[4] It may be Kauśâmbī was under the supremacy of the Nâgas in the third century A.D. We have however no epigraphic evidence to connect the Nâga supremacy with Kauśâmbī and therefore cannot be sure on this point. Excavations of the site of Kauśâmbī are expected to throw some sure light on the history of Kauśâmbī in the third century. It is probable that the Vâkâṭakas wrested from the Nâgas some of their possessions in Northern India in the beginning of the fourth century A.D., when the Vâkâṭakas became a great power and claimed imperial dignity in the time of Pravarasena I. In a recent publication Mr. Jayaswal has shown that Pravarasena I. (300-314 A.D.) ruled from his capital Chanaka,[5] and performed four *Aśvamedhas*. It was the usual practice among the imperial rulers of India observed from the earliest time known to us to have their sons and grandsons, brothers and nephews installed as rulers over different provinces. The system of the Vâkâtaka imperial organization was the same. According to the Purâṇas Pravarasena's four sons were provincial rulers. Mr. Jayaswal's

[4] Ibid.

[5] Jayaswal, p. 70. Chanaka roughly corresponds to the present village of Nachana, 2 miles to the west of Gauj, which is 25 miles to the S. W. of Panna and 15 miles to the S. W. of Najodh, both ruling states of C. I.

illuminating suggestion is that Maharâja Srī Bhimasena, a Vâkâtaka Prince " who has left four printed inscriptions in a cave temple about forty miles southwest of Allahabad in his 52nd year was evidently the governor of Kauśâmbī."[6]

II. The battle of Kausambi: The Gupta Supremacy

Kauśâmbī was brought under the imperial supremacy of the Guptas in the time of Samudragupta. Mr. Jayaswal is of the opinion that the pitched battle in which Samudragupta won a decided victory and consequently supremacy over Northern India was fought at Kauśâmbī in 344 or 345 A.D. According to the Allâhâbâd Inscription, states Mr. Jayaswal, Samudragupta's wars in Āryâvarta were in two parts—one before the southern expedition and the other after it. The first act of Samudragupta which turned the scale of political fortunes in his favour was the pitched battle with three kings—Acyuta, Nâgasena and Gaṇapati Nâga, who were rulers of Ahicchatra, Mathurâ and Padmâvatī respectively.[7] "The

[6] Jayaswal, p. 98. Also A. S. R., p. 119, Plate XXX.

[7] Ibid., p. 132. There is also numismatic evidence to show that Achyuta was the king of Ahicchatra about that time. A copper circular coin bearing the name of Achyuta in bold character now in the Calcutta Musuem has been dated by Dr. Smith to belong to 330 A.D.—C. C. I. M., p. 188.

convenient place," states Mr. Jayaswal, "upon which rulers from Ahicchatra, Mathurâ and Padmavati[8] would have converged was Kauśâmbī or Allâhâbâd, more likely the former, as the royal route to Pâtaliputra lay through Kauśâmbī."[9] Pâli literature bears, as we have seen,[10] ample evidence of the fact that Kauśâmbī was not only an important river station for goods and passengers coming west by the river routes from Magadha, Campa and Kośala, but roads coming from the southwest, west and northwest converged on Kauśâmbī. The proclamation of this victory was inscribed by Samudragupta on the Aśoka Pillar then *in situ* at Kauśâmbī and subsequently transferred to Allâhâbâd, probably by Akbar.[11] In line 30 of the *prasasti* the proud victor in the battle exultantly mentions that all three kings—Acyuta, Nâgasena and Gaṇapati-Nâga—were killed in one day of the battle.[12] If Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion that the battle which gave Samudragupta the supremacy over Northern India was fought at Kauśâmbī is correct, as I have reason to believe

[8] Narwar, a famous city which still exists in the territory of the Mâhârâja of Sindhia.
[9] Jayaswal, p. 134.
[10] See *ante* p. 7.
[11] See p. 107.
[12] Allâhâbâd Pillar Inscription.

it is, Kauśâmbī receives an added importance in its history of the fourth century A.D. I hope further materials, which are expected to be forthcoming if the contemplated excavation of the site of Kauśâmbī by the Allâhâbâd Archaeological Society is undertaken, will provide additional corroborative evidence of this important fact.

KAUŚÂMBÎ IN THE FIFTH AND IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

The Chinese Pilgrims at Kausambi

For the history of Kauśâmbī in the fifth and in the seventh century A.D. we are primarily indebted to the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang, who naturally visited this sacred city of the Buddhists during their sojourn in India. *Fa-hien* visited India during the latter part of the reign of Candragupta II, Vikramāditya, the son and successor of Samudragupta, and stayed in the country for six years (405-411). *Hiuen Tsang's* sojourn in India two centuries later also fell, it is interesting to note, during the *latter* part of Harṣavardhana's reign (629-643). Both the pilgrims timed their visits to India most opportunely, when the wars were finished, the imperial rule was firmly established and peace reigned supreme in the land, which enabled the pilgrims to move about in the country most freely without molestation of any kind. Both pilgrims speak highly of the conditions of roads and of the absence of thieves and robbers—a testimony which redounds to the glory of the

Indian administration in the fifth and in the seventh century A.D., of which we can be legitimately proud.

Fa-hien's notice of the city of Kauśâmbī in his record is brief; that of Hiuen Tsang is in fuller detail. Both of them are silent about the political condition of Kauśâmbī during their visits. But that is partly because Kauśâmbī was during their visits under the imperial rule of the Guptas and of Harṣvardhana, respectively, and there was no independent or subordinate king residing in the city whose guests they were; and partly because of the fact that the two travellers came to India primarily as pious pilgrims to pay respects to the Buddhist shrines, and to collect and carry home copies of the Pâlī Piṭakâs, if they could find any. Consequently their notice of Kauśâmbī, in common with that of many other places, was confined to the religious conditions obtaining there at the time. The record of the pilgrims regarding Kauśâmbī, however, clearly points out one thing, namely, that it was once an important scene of Buddhist activity, and was still a centre of Hīnayâna Buddhism. Fa-hien says: "Thirteen yojans[1] to the northwest of the shrine (Deer Park, Benares) is a country called Kauśâmbī. There is

[1] One yojan is to be considered equal to eight British miles.

a shrine there, known as the garden of Ghochirârâma, in which Buddha once dwelt, and where there are still priests, mostly of the lesser vehicle."[2] Ghochirârâma is the Ghositârâma or Ghosikârâma of Hiuen Tsang and Buddhaghosha, a pleasance and *vihâra* built by the pious and wealthy Buddhist merchant Ghosita or Ghosika. Evidently the Ghositârâma was in good condition in the fifth century A.D. when Fa-hien visited Kauśâmbī. It was however reduced to ruins when Hiuen Tsang visited the place in the seventh century A.D. This may be accounted for by the fact that the Huṇas who poured into India in the latter part of the fifth century A.D. carried on a systematic ravage of the country and destruction of buildings, the Śaiva Temples and Buddhist Monasteries coming equally under their vandalic lust.

The records of Hiuen Tsang show that the monasteries in Kauśâmbī were in a ruined condition in his time. He saw ten such monasteries.[3] There were three hundred brethren living in Kauśâmbī, all following the Hīnayâna system.[4] A Buddhist temple existed in his time. "Within the royal enclosure of the capital," says the pilgrim, "was

[2] Giles—Travels of Fa-Hien.
[3] Watters. II., p. 366.
[4] Ibid.

a large Buddhist temple over sixty feet high in which was a carved *Sandal-wood Image* of the Buddha with a stone canopy suspended over it."[5] This image, according to Hiuen Tsang, was the one made at the request of Udayana.[6] Watters says (on the authority of the Chinese account) that the same image was taken to Khotan or probably to China. The ruins of the house of the wealthy and pious Buddhist banker Ghosita, the donor of the Ghositârâma, were seen by the pilgrim. The house was in the 'southeast corner of the city.'[7] It is interesting to note that the southeast corner of the present site of Kauśâmbī is exactly on the river Yamuna which flows along its southern side. Ghosita was a premier merchant of Kauśâmbī, and the position of his residence was, precisely as it should have been, on the river bank. The pilgrim also saw 'a Buddhist temple, a hair and nail relic tope and the remains of the Buddha's bath-house.'[8] The temple referred to here is different from the one mentioned above, namely, the one built at the request of King Udayana. Wherever the Buddha lived for a long time, he had occasions to shave his head and to cut his nails. They were taken by pious and devout Buddhists as sacred relics over which they

[5] Ibid., p. 368. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid., p. 369. [8] Ibid.

built a Stūpa. The ruins of the main monastery at Kauśâmbī, the Ghositârâma where the Buddha resided with his followers during his visits to the city, were also seen by the pilgrim, the site of which was 'outside the city on its southeast side.' Thus it is evident that the *ârâma* was built outside the city and on the river bank, for the convenience of the pilgrims and monks. This account of the position of the Ghositârâma receives corroboration from an independent source, the Piṭakás, where we find that the *ârâmas* built in different places for the residence of the Buddha and his followers were as a rule outside the city. The Buddha, we find in the Piṭakás, always preferred to live outside the city, even though he had to visit large cities to carry on evangelistic work. He loved to live in the quiet of a suburban hermitage—away from the din and bustle of city life. The main monasteries, such as Ghositârâma at Kauśâmbī, Jetavana at Śrâvastī, Gandhakuṭīvihâra at Vârâṇasi, Mahâvanakuṭâgâraśâlâ at Vaisâli, were all built outside the city.

"To the southeast of Ghositârâma," Hiuen Tsang proceeds, "was a two-storied building with an old brick upper-chamber; and in this Vasubandhu lodged and composed the *Wei-shih-lun* for the refuting of Hinayânists and the confounding

of the non-Buddhists." Then he says, "In a mango wood east of the Ghositârâma were the old foundations of the house in which Asaṅga P'usa composed the *Hsien-Yang-Sheng-Chiao-lun*."[9]

Wei-shih-lun is, according to Julien, the Chinese name of the book known as *Vidyâmâtra siddhi-śâstra*. The book is an explanatory commentary on the relation of mind and matter, and aims at refuting false doctrines of Buddhism, as they appeared to be. Vasubandhu belonged to the realistic school of Buddhism and was a great authority on Mahâyâna as well as Hīnayâna philosophy. He is famous as a great exponent of Mahâyâna doctrines. He was born about 288 A.D. and was a native of Gandhâra. He came to Ayodhyâ, being invited by Samudragupta. According to Paramârtha, who wrote a life of Vasubandhu, the king Vikramâditya of Ayodhyâ was induced by the writings of Vasubandhu to take an interest in Buddhism. He sent his queen, with the crown prince Bâlâditya, to study Buddhism under the famous teacher. When Bâlâditya became king he invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyâ and favoured him with special

[9] Watters, pp. 370-371. The work with its commentaries is being restored from Chinese to Sanskrit under the more correct name of *Vigñaptimatrarasiddhi-śastra* by my friend Tripitakâchârya Râhula. Half of it is already published in J. B. O. S. (1933-34).

patronage.[10] This Baladitya, according to Peri and Dr. Vincent Smith, is Samudragupta who bore the title of Bâlâditya in his youth.[11] Thus Vasubandhu's activity must have covered the greater part of the fourth century A.D. He lived most of his time at Ayodhyâ in the court of Samudragupta under whose patronage he composed most of his books. He probably came to Kauśâmbī where, as Hiuen Tsang says, he composed *Wei-shih-lun*, after Samudragupta had brought Kauśâmbī under his rule by his great victory at the battle of Kauśâmbī in about 345 A.D.[12]

Asaṅga who, the pilgrim says, also lived in Kauśâmbī and composed there the *Hsien-Yang-Sheng-Chiao-lun*, was the elder brother of Vasubandhu and a remarkable personality of that time. He, like his brother, resided in Samudragupta's court at Ayodhyâ and was equally patronised by the emperor. Like his brother he was a great exponent of Mahâyâna Buddhism and a founder of the idealistic school of *Yogâcâra*. His notable contribution to the intellectual movements of the age was the systematisation of the idealistic philosophy which afterwards produced such great logicians as Diṅnâga and Dharmakīrti.

[10] J. R. A. S. 1905.
[11] E. H. I., pp. 328-334.
[12] See *ante* p. 3.

According to this school internal or subjective ideas are the only real things: the external is a reflection of the internal, and has no real existence. The world as we see it is nothing but the creation of minds. This school is known as Vijñânavâda or the school of Yogâcâra. His famous book goes by the name of *Yogâcharya Bhūmi Śâstra*, which was partially translated by Dharmarakṣa[18] between A.D. 414 and 421. The one that he wrote at Kauśâmbī, if Hiuen Tsang's statement is to be believed, is an exposition of that book. The fact that both these brothers who were Buddhist scholars and writers of first importance in the fourth century A.D. came to Kauśâmbī and lived there at least for some time is an eloquent testimony to the fact that the city was still regarded as an important centre of Buddhism.

[18] Dharmarakṣa was an Indo-Scythian Buddhist scholar and writer. He was a contemporary of Asaṁga and his brother, being born towards the middle of the third century A.D. He was a native of the famous Buddhist town of Touen-hoang in northeastern China, which had grown into an important centre of Buddhist missionary activity as early as the 2nd century A.D. Dharmarakṣa received his education from an Indian teacher and travelled with him to different parts of Central Asia and northwestern India. He knew 36 different languages and possessed a first-hand knowledge of Buddhism. A monk of rare genius, he translated more than 200 Sanskrit texts into Chinese, of which 90 works still exist. He died about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.

FROM THE DEATH OF HARṢAVARDHANA TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

Rule of The Pratihara Kings of Kanauj

In the time of Harṣavardhana, Lord Paramount of Northern India, Kauśâmbī was subordinate to the imperial government of Kanauj, which was chosen by Harṣa as his capital. Kanauj was an ancient city. It is mentioned in several passages in the Mahâbhârata, and by Patañjali in the second century B.C. It was visited by Fa-hien about A.D. 405, during the reign of Candragupta II, Vikramâditya. During that time Kanauj came to be a considerable town under the patronage of the Gupta kings. After Harṣa had selected it as his capital, it developed into a prosperous, beautiful, and crowded city, as testified to by Hiuen Tsang who visited it first in 636 and then in 643 A.D. The kingdom of Kanauj roughly corresponded to the ancient Pancâla with its two capitals—Ahicchatra and Kampila.[1] The rapid development of Kanauj

[1] Ancient Pancâla had two political divisions, Northern and Southern Pañcâlas. Ahicchatra was the capital of the northern division and Kampila the capital of the southern division.

under Harṣa threw both these towns into obscurity. After Harṣa's time Kanauj became the most important town in Northern India, and the fate of Kauśâmbī was linked up with it.

Harṣa's death in A.D. 647 was followed by the break-up of his vast empire, and for about a hundred years we know of no kings ruling in Kanauj. The earliest known king of Kanauj after Harṣa's death is Yaśovarman who, according to Râjataraṅgiṇi, sent an embassy in A.D. 731 and was later dethroned by Lalitâditya Muktâpīḍa of Kashmīr[2] and whose name holds an honoured place in the history of Sanskrit literature as that of the patron of Bhavabhūti, the celebrated author of *Mâlatīmâdhava*. The successors of Yaśovarman retained a precarious hold on the throne of Kanauj until A.D. 816, when the last of the dynasty of Cakrâyudha was deposed by Nâgabhaṭa, a Gurjara-Pratihâra king who came from Western Rajputana and established Pratihâra rule in Kanauj which lasted for more than two hundred years. That during all these years Kauśâmbī was part[3] of the kingdom of Kanauj is proved by two inscriptions. The first is the Jhunsi copper-plate

[2] Stein, transl. Râjatar., BK. IV, pp. 136-46.

[3] Referred to as *Maṇḍala* in Yasapala's inscription which was an administrative division above the village. See Beni Prasad—The State in Ancient India, p. 417.

inscription which is ascribed to Trilocanapâla. As the genealogical table given below of the Pratihâra kings of Kanauj will show, Trilocanapâla was the eighth king from Nâgabhaṭa, the founder of the supremacy of his dynasty in Kanauj.

Pratihâra Kings of Kanauj

Nâgabhaṭa. 816-825.
|
Râmabhadra. 825-840.
|
Mihira Bhoja. 840-890.
|
Mahendrapâla. 890-c. 893. Mahīpâla. 910-940.
|
Devapâla. 940-955. Vijayâpala. 955-990.
|
Rajyapâla. 990-1019
|
Trilocanapâla. 1019-c. 1027
|
Yaśapâla. 1027-c. 1036.

The Jhunsi copper-plate inscription of Trilocanapâla records that he granted the village of Jhunsi to a Brâhmin.[4] This shows that his rule extended from Kanauj to Jhunsi, which is on the eastern side of the Ganges across from the

[4] J. A. S. B, XXXI, p. 8; I. A. Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35.

town of Allâhâbâd, and as such it included Kauśâmbī which is only 38 miles southwest of Allâhâbâd. The second inscription, that of Yaśapâla, the son and successor of Trilocanapâla, more definitely proves that Kauśâmbī was under the rule of the Pratihâra kings of Kanauj. This inscription, which has been noticed in detail in another connection,[5] refers to the grant of the village of Payalâsa (mod. Prâs) in the '*Kauśâmbī-maṇḍala*' to one Mathurâ Vikṭâ of Pabhosâ. This conclusively proves that Kauśâmbī was in the eleventh century an administrative subdivision of the kings of Kanauj.

[5] See *post* pp. 98-100

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF KAUŚÂMBĪ

The information regarding the early history of Kauśâmbī given in the foregoing pages will lose much of its importance unless we can satisfactorily identify the place. I propose to discuss this problem of identification now.

As early as February 1861 Babu Shiva Prasad of the Education Department, who took a deep and intelligent interest in all archaeological matters, informed Mr. Cunningham while he was Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India that the village of Kosam, 30 miles from Allâhâbâd, was still known as Kauśâmbī-Nagar, that it was even then a great resort of the Jains and that only a century ago it was a large and flourishing city.[1]

As far as is known to the writer a report of the ancient ruins of Kauśâmbī was first published by Sir Alexander Cunningham, as Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, in 1871.[2] He definitely identified the present village of Kosam, a little more than 30 miles across the fields, and

[1] C. A. G. I., p. 41.
[2] A. S. R. Vol. 1. 1871.

38 miles by road, from Allâhâbâd, with the ancient city of Kauśâmbī as found in the Pâli literature and described by the Chinese pilgrim in the seventh century. Sir Alexander based his conclusion on two considerations. The first is the famous legend of Ba-kula[8] which he adopted in a truncated form from Hardy's Manual of Buddhism. The legend may be summarised thus:

The infant Bakula was born at Kauśâmbī, and while his mother was bathing in the Yamunâ, he accidentally fell into the river, and being swallowed by a fish, was carried to Benâres. There the fish fell into the net of a fisherman who sold it to the wife of a nobleman. On opening the fish she found a young child still alive inside, and at once adopted it as her own. The true mother, hearing of this wonderful escape of the infant, proceeded to Benâres and demanded the return of the child which was, of course, refused. The matter was then referred to the king, who decided that both the claimants were mothers of the child—the one by *maternity*, the other by *purchase*. The child was accordingly called Ba-kula, that is, of two *kulas* or races.

Cunningham says that "The legend of Bakula is sufficient to prove that the city of Kauśâmbī

[8] Ibid., pp. 303-304.

was situated on the Yamunâ."[4] The second reason for his conclusion is that the distance of Kosam from Allahabad corresponds with that between Prayâg and Kauśâmbī as recorded by Hiuen Tsang. There is indeed an obvious danger, seen by Cunningham himself, in fixing the identity of the place on the distance given by Hiuen Tsang, which is different in two places, and in one place too far to make Kauśâmbī anywhere near Allâhâbâd. But the clear and convincing argument with which he meets this obvious discrepancy is interesting. Let me quote Cunningham's own words:

"Unfortunately the distance (between Prayâg and Kauśâmbī) is differently stated in the *life* and in the *travels* of the Chinese pilgrim. In the former, the distance is given as fifty *li*[5] and in the latter five hundred *li*, whilst in the return journey to China, the pilgrim states that between Prayâg and Kauśâmbī he travelled for seven days through a vast forest and over bare plains. Now as the village of Kosam is only 31 miles from the fort at Allâhâbâd, the last statement would seem to preclude all possibility of its identification with the ancient Kauśâmbī. But strange to say, it

[4] Ibid., pp. 451-452. The story is more fully stated by Spencer Hardy in *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd Ed., p. 520.

[5] A Chinese *li* is equal to a little more than a British mile.

affords the most satisfactory proof of their identity, for the subsequent route of the pilgrim to Saṅkaīsa is said to have occupied one month, and as the whole distance from Prayâg to Saṅkaīsa is only 200 miles, the average length of the pilgrim's daily march was not more than 5½ miles. This slow progress is most satisfactorily accounted for by the fact that the march from Prayâg to Saṅkaīsa was a religious procession headed by the great king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj with a train of no less than eighteen tributary kings, besides many thousands of Buddhist monks and followers. According to this reckoning the distance between Prayâg and Kauśâmbī would be 38 miles, which corresponds very closely with the actual road distance as I found it. By one route on going to Kosam I made the distance 37 miles, and return route 35 miles. The only probable explanation of Hiuen Tsang's varying distance of 50 *li* and 500 *li* that occurs to me is, that he converted the *yojanas* into Chinese *li* at the rate of 40 *li* per *yojana* or 10 *li* per *kos*, he must have written 150 *li*, the equivalent of 15 *kos*, which is the actual distance across the fields for foot passengers from Kosam to the fort of Allâhâbâd, according to the reckoning of the people of Kosam itself. But whether the explanation is correct or not, it is quite certain that the present Kosam

stands on the actual site of the ancient Kauśâmbī."[6]

Thus, Cunningham was sure in his mind of the identity of the place, although the evidence on which he based his conclusion was partly traditional (the Legend of Bakula) and partly argumentative. Doubts as to Cunningham's identification of Kauśâmbī have since been expressed by Dr. Vincent Smith and Mr. Watters. Evidently, the traditional evidence and argumentative reasons with which Cunningham explained the discrepancies of the distance given in the *life* and *travel* of Hiuen Tsang have failed to carry conviction to the minds of those scholars. Believing the distance from Prayâg to Kauśâmbī to be 500 *li* as given in the *travel* and ignoring Cunningham's very illuminating suggestion of the probable transcriptional error of 50 *li* for 150 *li* and the circumstances which explain the march requiring seven days to cover the distance of 38 miles, Vincent Smith located Kauśâmbī near Satna[7] and Watters somewhere near Śrâvastī.[8]

Evidences of more positive and impeccable nature than those Cunningham could get have since been available to us, and we can reject the sites suggested by Dr. Smith and Mr. Watters, and

[6] Ibid., p. 305.
[7] J. R. A. S. 1898.
[8] Watters, pp. 367-68.

accept Mr. Cunningham's identification as true. This only shows how that wonderful master-mind of pioneer researches in ancient Indian History, Sir Alexander Cunningham, could build a true theory on a comparatively slender basis. The ancient city of Śrâvastī was identified by Cunningham with ruins of Saheṭ-Maheṭ in the district of Gonda (U. P.) and that identification has since been confirmed by the find of two inscriptions during the joint exploration of the ancient mounds at Saheṭ-Maheṭ by three eminent archaeologists, Dr. Vogel, Sir John Marshall and R. B. Daya Ram Sahni during the years 1907-1909. "These two important inscriptions," says R. B. Sahni, "finally and conclusively established the identity of those remains with Srâvasti."[9] This being so, it is useless to try to identify them any longer with Kauśâmbī. The claim of Satna being the site of the ancient Kauśâmbī may also be dismissed in the light of positive evidences which undoubtedly fix the village of Kosam as the site of the ancient city of Kauśâmbī. Let us now examine the evidences which will give a quietus to, and satisfactorily solve, this important controversy.

1. Fa-hien, as I have stated elsewhere,[10]

[9] J. R. A. S. 1927.
[10] See *ante* p. 71.

visited Kauśâmbī during his Indian itinerary (A.D. 405-11). He makes the distance of Kauśâmbī 'thirteen *yojanas* from the Deer Park.' Now, thirteen *yojanas,* according to Fa-hien's reckoning, are equivalent to 104 miles[11] of British road distance, and that closely corresponds to the actual distance between Benâres and the present village of Kosam.

2. In the Pâli Texts we find the name of 'Sahajâti' as being the terminus of the Ganges route for the boats plying from the east *en route* to Kauśâmbī which was reached by plying some distance along the Yamunâ.[12] Now Sahajâti has been definitely identified with the ruins of Bhītâ about 9 miles S. S. W. from Allâhâbâd by the discovery of a terra-cotta seal containing the name of 'Sahajâti.'[13] The suggestion that one naturally makes from references in Pâli Text that Sahajâti must have been somewhere near Prayâg at the junction of the Ganges and the Yamunâ, is thus corroborated by the find of that important seal in Bhitâ. I have visited Bhiṭâ twice. The course of the

[11] G. A. I., p. 656.

[12] *Ante* p. 6.

[13] "The name of the place (Bhitâ) was Sahajâti, which is found in a terra cotta seal matrix in the house called by Sir John Marshall the 'House of Guild.' It is seal No. I which is the oldest record found in Bhitâ. It is in Mâgadhī and reads śahajâtiye niga maśa. Every letter of the seal is at least a century older (if not earlier still) than Aśokaś' letters.– Jayaswal, p. 225.

Ganges must have changed considerably from the time of the Buddha to put the present ruins of Bhiṭâ far inland from the Ganges. The ruins of Bhitâ may be reached from the Yamunâ side by walking a couple of miles from the bank. This shows that the course of the Yamunâ has not changed so much near Allâhâbâd as that of the Ganges. Thus the Pâli references to Sahajâti now identified with Bhitâ undoubtedly prove that Kauśâmbī is on the Yamunâ, above Bhiṭâ. Therefore neither Saheṭ-Maheṭ nor Satna, but Kosam, reconciles the direction and situation as given in Pâli ṭext of ancient Kauśâmbī in relation to Sahajâti. I have visited the ruins at Kosam several times. The Yamunâ still flows by the ruins, washing its high banks in the southeast corner. It was in this corner of the city that the wealthy merchant of Kauśâmbī, Ghosita, built his residence. Hiuen Tsang testifies to having seen the ruins of the house, as also of the *Ghositārāma* built by the pious merchant close to his residence. It is thus borne out by the present situation of the ruins *vis-a-vis* the Yamunâ that Kauśâmbī should be the first important stopping station for cargo and passenger boat from Sahajâti at the junction of the Ganges and the Yamunâ referred to in the Pâli Texts.

3. During my first visit to Kauśâmbī in

December 1930, the most conspicuous relic, which drew my special interest, was a stone pillar. I wrote a description of the pillar and called it an Aśoka Pillar in an article in the Leader of January 1931. A member of the Research Department in Ancient Indian History of The Allâhâbâd University took exception to my calling it an Aśoka Pillar and gave reasons for his views in an article in the same paper. I wrote a second article in reply stating why I held it to be an Aśoka Pillar, in the Leader in March 1931. In this Aśoka Pillar standing *in situ* at Kosam there is an important inscription engraved in the upper part of the shaft. This inscription, first published in R. B. Dayaram Sahni's Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1917, has been edited in detail in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI., p. 92. The inscription is dated '*Chaitrabadi Panchami*' in *Samvat* 1621, which, according to Fleet, corresponds to February 1565 A.D. As such the inscription falls in the reign of Akbar. The inscription is as follows:

TEXT

1. Srī Gaṇēsḥa Bânâna ya nâgarīka sonī.
2. mukha-darpan darpan Soninha kau.
3. dev Bhairav.
4. Saṁbat 1621 Samaai nâm Chaitra-badī.
5. Paṁchami likhitē Lakhimanu Sonarâ.

6. Baisnav Ananda-sut Briti.
7. Kauśâmbī-puri Lakhimi-dâs tathâ.
8. Khēma-krapan Laghu bhâi.
9. Tēnha kē purukh pachhilē.
10. Nalīgu Soni
11. Mahēsa-dâs Soni.
12. Horīl Soni.
13. Chamanda Soni.
14. Ratanu-Soni.
15. Chamandilē Soni kē put.
16. Anandu Râm-dâs.
17. Lakshmi-dâs.
18. Basṁta-Râm.

4. Dhanē Baisnav.
Karam Baisnav.
Manā Baisnav.
Anandu Baisnav.

TRANSLATION

"Sri Gaṇēśa ! The town goldsmiths make this. May the god Bhairava show a mirror-like face to the goldsmiths!

"Saṁvat 1621, at the time by name, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month chaitra, write—Lakṣmaṇ the master goldsmith, Vaiṣṇava Briti, son of Ananda, Lakshmidas of the town of Kauśâmbī (and) of the same town the brothers

Khema-Krapan (and) Laghu.[14]

"Their men (write) afterwards—Nalīgu the goldsmith, Mahēśa-dâsa the goldsmith, Horīl the goldsmith, Camaṇḍa the goldsmith, Ratanu the goldsmith, the son of the goldsmith Camaṇḍilē, Anandu Râma-dâsa, Lakṣmīdâsa, Basṁta-râma, (and) four (others),[15] Dhane Vaiṣṇava, Karam Vaiṣṇava, Mana Vaiṣṇava, and Anada Vaiṣṇava."

The most important part of the inscription which identifies Kosam with Kauśâmbī is the records and prayers of the five leading goldsmiths with thirteen of their employees to Gaṇeśa and Śiva-Bhiarava 'for favour of goldsmiths of *Kauśâmbī* town.' This undoubtedly proves that Kosam which contains the stone pillar referred to above and which inscription was engraved in the reign of Akbar was known to its residents

[14] I do not agree here with the translation. 'Laghu bhai' means younger brother. The correct translation should, to my mind, have been 'Laksmidas of the town of Kauśâmbī and his younger brother Khema-Krapan,' so instead of the five leading goldsmiths, three of the town of Kauśâmbī and two from outside, as Mr. Pargiter thinks (vide Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 91), I consider only four.

[15] Pargiter—Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, pp. 89-92. The translation of the last four lines is ambiguous. I hope the translator does not mean by 'four others' the last mentioned four *persons*, as the drift of the sentence seems to convey. To me the last four lines engraved in a separate position seem to convey the idea that aforesaid names up to the 18th line given in the same position are all Vaiṣṇava in *dhane*, *karme*, *mane* and *anande*.

to be Kauśâmbī even in the sixteenth century A.D. Dr. Smith's contention that the inscription simply proves that the persons mentioned in it resided in Kauśâmbī, but that it is not necessarily identical with the remains extant at Kosam, may be dismissed easily, for if Dr. Smith was right, the pillar in which the inscription appears should have been found somewhere else, probably at Satna, which he identifies with Kauśâmbī, instead of at Kosam.

4. There is a Jain Dharmaśala in the village of Pabhosâ which, as has been stated before, is at a distance of two and a half miles northwest of the remains at Kosam. I visited Pabhosâ twice in the same trips to the ruins at Kosam. Once I went first to Pabhosâ and then went to Kosam by motor road, the other time I walked to Pabhosâ from Kosam through the fields. It is about four miles by motor road and only two and a half miles straight across the fields. On a tablet of red sandstone is found a dedicatory inscription in corrupt Sanskrit. A portion of the inscription runs thus:

चन्द्र सात्पुत्रसाक श्रीहीरालालेन कौशाम्वी नगर वाह्य
प्रभासा-चलोपरि श्रीपद्मप्रभजिन दीक्षा ज्ञान कल्याण
कक्षभे श्रीजिनविम्व प्रतिष्ठा करित (कारिता)
अंरेजवहादुर राज्ये शम् ।

"On the top of the hill of Pabhosâ outside the city of Kauśâmbī one Hiralal built a temple in honour of Jina for the spread of religion, knowledge (and) welfare (in the British Empire)".

In another portion of the inscription is found the date "संवत् १८८१" and the residence of the donor "प्रयाग"

Samvat 1881 corresponds to the Christian years 1824-1825. Thus half a century before Sir Alexander's identification, Kauśâmbī is proved to have been situated close to the Pabhosâ Hill and was known to the residents of Allâhâbâd as such.

5. The well-known Kara Inscription was found on a piece of stone in the gateway of the ancient city of Kara.[16] It was first published by Mr. H. D. Colebrook in the year 1809 in Vol. IX, pp. 440-41, of the Asiatic Researches. Mr. Trubner reproduced Colebrook's article in his Life and Essays of Colebrook, Vol. III, pp. 245-246,

[16] The ancient town of Kara is at a distance of five miles northwest from Sirâthu and 41 miles from Allâhâbâd. Kara was once a place of great importance and till the foundation of Allâhâbâd was the seat of Government of a large province. Its association with Allauddin while he was viceroy of Kara is familiar to students of Khilji history. While the political importance of the place seems to have dated from the beginning of the Muslim rule in India, it appears to have been a sacred place of the Hindus even before that time, as can be gathered from Ibn Batuta's mention of it in 1340 as a place of pilgrimage and the existence of a temple Kâleśvara to the north of the town.

in 1873. Mr. Prinsep published an improved version of the inscription in The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, p. 731, in 1836. In 1871 Gen. Cunningham did indeed mention it in his Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. I, pp. 302-303, but did not use this inscription adequately for the purpose of identification of the site of Kauśâmbī. He only said: "The kingdom of Kauśâmbī or *Kosambamaṇḍala*,[17] is mentioned in an inscription taken from the gateway of the fort of Kara, which is dated in Sambat 1092, or A.D. 1035, at which period it would appear to have been independent of Kanoj."[18] He left the

[17] Cunningham's interpretation of Kosambamaṇḍala of the inscription as a kingdom is difficult to accept.

[18] It is doubtful whether Cunningham's suggestion that it was independent of Kanauj at the time of the inscription is correct. It is on the other hand more probable that both Kauśâmbī and Kara where the stone has been found were subject to the rule of King Yaśapâla of Kanauj who was the author of the inscription, the two places being at a distance of only 45 miles from one another. The fort of Kara, the ruins of which still exist overlooking the Ganges and on the gateway of which the stone containing the inscription has been found, is supposed to have been built by Jaichand the last Hindu Raja of Kanauj, who reigned in the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. The political importance of Kara in supersession of Kauśâmbī seems to have begun from the construction of the fort there and continued in the time of the Muslim rulers of Delhi who after the fall of Jaichand found it more convenient to use the fortified town of Kara as the headquarters of a new Doab province named after its capital town in preference to Kauśâmbī. I feel certain

examination of this important inscription at that point, and relied for the purpose of identification on evidences of a comparatively slender character already discussed.

It was left for the present Director of Archaeology, Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, to edit it more fully and correctly in collaboration with Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda through whose courtesy he secured a fresh estampage of the inscription. He published it in The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Vol. IV, October, 1927; and used it as an evidence for the identity of Kauśâmbī. The inscription is dated Samvat 1093 and refers to the grant of the *Payal* (*a*) *sa* in the *Kau sa* (*sa*) *mba maṇḍala* to one Mathura Vikaṭa of Pabhosâ together with its customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold and tithes in perpetuity to his descendants (Putra-Pautrâṇâm) by Mahârâjâdhirâja Yaśapâla.

Yaśapâla, as we have seen before,[19] was the ninth king from Nâgabhaṭa, the founder of the

that the engraved stone was removed by Jaichand from Payalasa which is only at a distance of five miles (J. R. A. S. 1917) from Kara to use it on the gateway of his newly constructed fort. 'I do not see any reason to believe that Kara should have been independent of Kanauj', R.B. Sahni says in his article (J. R. A. S. 1917), 'when its king could give away a village within five miles of the town.'

[19] See *ante* p. 80.

Pratihâra rule in Kanauj. It appears characteristic of the kings of this dynasty to grant lands to deserving people by way of gift. A copper-plate inscription found at Khaidra near Ahmadâbad records that the Gurjara king Sri Datta Kusâli made several grants of land to certain Brâhmans in the district of Akrūreśvara, near Jambrusra, on the south bank of the Narbadâ opposite Broach.[20] The inscription is dated A.D. 463 and was in the time when the Gurjara Pratihâras were ruling in Western Râjputâna and pushed their conquests up to the south bank of the Narbadâ in the Deccan peninsula. The Jhunsi copper-plate inscription, as we have seen before,[21] records a similar grant of the village of Jhunsi across the Ganges from Allâhâbâd. The donor of this gift is Trilocanapâla, the eighth Pratihâra king of Kanauj. The inscription which is now in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, is dated A.D. 1027. So Yaśapâla who made a similar grant of the village of Payâlasa to a resident of Pabhosâ has only followed the traditions of his family. Yaśapâla is presumably the immediate successor of Trilocanapâla, for the Jhunsi inscription is dated A.D. 1027 and the Kara inscription

[20] J. R. A. S. New series 1, 270-280; A. G. I., p. 369.
[21] See *ante* p. 80.

A.D. 1036, and we know of no other king of Kanauj who came between Trilocanapâla and Yaśapâla.

Now the inscription refers to three places—Kauśamba-maṇḍala, Pabhosâ and Payâlasa. Pabhosâ is only two and a half miles from Kosam, and Payâlasa has been identified by R. B. Dayaram Sahni with the present village of Pras within five miles of Kara and 30 miles N. N. W. of Kosam.[22] Trilochanapâla, mentioned in the inscription as Mahârâjâdhirâja, is a scion of the royal family of Kanauj which had ruled over Kauśâmbī since Kanauj became the imperial seat in Northern India. Taking all these facts into consideration the conclusion becomes irresistible that the present ruins of Kosam are to be identified with the ancient Kauśâmbī.

[22] J. R. A. S. Oct. 1927.

APPENDIX III

The Kara inscription as edited, translated and published by R. B. Dayaram Sahni (J. R. A. S. IV. 1927) is as follows:

TEXT

line

1. om samvat 1093
2. Āṣāḍha śudi I
3. ady=ehaṁ (ha) śrimat-Kaṭe
4. mahârâjâdhirâja
5. śri-Yasa (śa) ḥ pâla [:*] Kau
6. sâ (śa) mba-maṇḍale Payal [a]
7. sa-grâme mahantam=â (a)
8. nusamâdisa (śa) ti yathâ
9. Pabhosekīya-Mâthu
10. ra-vik [a] ṭasya sâ (śâ) sana—
11. tvaṁ prasâdhi (ī) kṛtya matv [a*]
12. bhâga-bhoga-Kara-hira
13. n (ṇ) ya-pratyâdyâ-dhikaṁ
14. matv=opanetavyam=iti
15. dasa (śa) bandhena saha.....
16. alabhrata (?)
17. putra-pautrâṇâṁ

Appendix III

Translation

"Om. In the year Samvat 1093, on the first day of the bright fortnight of Aṣâḍha, today (while encamping) here at the illustrious Kata, the Mahârâjâdhirâja, the illustrious Yaśapâla commands the mahant (headman or other official) in the village of Payalâsa in the mandala of Kauśâmbī that, knowing that (the aforesaid village) has been presented (by me) as a gift to Mathura Vikaṭa (Vikaṭa) of Pabhosâ, the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, other income (pratyâdayâ) etc., together with the tenth part of the produce should be paid (to him)..... of the sons and grandsons."

R. B. Dayaram Sahni reject Messrs. Colebrooke and Prinseps' rendering of the locality Payahâsa for Payalasa, and identifies the same with the present village of Pras just 30 miles N. N. W. of Kosam and gives convincing reasons for it.

ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF KAUŚÂMBÎ

The nearest village to the ruins of the old city is Musarfa, which is at a distance of about a mile from the place. As you reach the open fields from the village, the high bastions and the earthen ramparts of an immense fortress come into sight. As you pass on through the narrow paths between the cultivated fields you notice many stone images on either side, as well as bricks stacked at different places. These stone figures and bricks have yielded to the plough. This proves that the entire area covered by the fields and the villages round the present fortress was perhaps the suburb of the old city.

The ruin of the immense fortress has a circuit of a little over four miles, protected on all sides by earthen ramparts about thirty feet high above the fields and a number of bastions rising to above fifty or sixty feet high. Signs of shallow water-hollows at the foot of the ramparts point to the fact that there were once ditches protecting the fort.

There are two villages, Kosam Inâm and

Kosam Khirâj, lying on the west and east side, respectively, of the fortress. Inside the rampart and on the bank of the Yamunâ there are two villages called *Gaḍhava* and *Gaḍhava choṭa*, their names being no doubt derived from inside the gaṛ. These and the other adjoining villages which were once covered by the old city of Kauśâmbī contained when Cunningham wrote his report in 1862 more than 400 houses and 2000 inhabitants. At present the number of houses and of the inhabitants has considerably increased.

Brick Walls

One very special feature of the old fortress is that you will find hardly a space in the ruins within the ramparts which is not strewn with bricks. They are of various sizes ranging from 19 inches to 12½ by 2½ inches and to even smaller bricks than the present standard size. There are *pucca* pathways less than two feet wide through which we walked amongst the ruins. These pathways are probably the tops of walls of ancient buildings which lie under the earth. The large-sized bricks seen by Cunningham are considered by him to have been the ruins of old walls. Lines of old walls are found here and there and these are occasionally dug out by the villagers for making their own houses, so much so that almost every house in the

neighbouring villages is constructed of these bricks taken from the ruined fort. The entire prospect of the ruined area tempts an archaeologist to try his spade forthwith. I feel sanguine that, besides the many valuable finds already collected by Mr. Brij Mohan Vyas, underneath the ruins lies a store-house of ancient relics, to be yielded to the spade, which will enlarge the stock of our knowledge of ancient and mediaeval Indian History connected with the place.

A Stone Pillar

The chief object of archaeological interest existing *in situ* in the ruins is a stone pillar. The top of it is broken and its capital is missing. It is probable that if excavations are carried further near the pillar, the capital may be found. The upper portion of the pillar is also broken. As it stands now it measures nearly 22 feet. It is built in the style of Aśoka Pillars—crystal-smooth one-columned structure. Unfortunately no inscription of Aśoka is to be found on it. Now the question is: how old is the pillar? In the absence of these two important clues—the capital and the inscription—it is difficult to be positive as to its age and its builder. But the structure of the pillar and the fact that Kauśâmbī was an

important Buddhist place in the time of Aśoka point to the probable conclusion that it was built by Aśoka or by some one not very long after him, in close imitation of his other stone monoliths. It is a large stone monolith similar to those at Allâhâbâd, Delhi and in the Champâran District, excepting only that it bears no inscription of Aśoka. The capital is missing and a good portion of the upper shaft is broken. When Sir Alexander saw this pillar for a closer examination in about 1870 he found it to be only 14 feet high as it stood then above the ground. A mound of brick ruins covered a good portion of the lower shaft which he cleared to the depth of 7 feet 4 inches without reaching the end of the polished portion of the shaft. Cunningham also found two broken pieces of the upper shaft lying close by which measured respectively 4 feet 6 inches and 2 feet 3 inches. By calculating on the basis of the standing column which was then in a reclining position of 5°, and of the broken pieces, and the measurement of the thinnest part of the column, the learned Archaeologist concluded that the column was originally 36 feet high. When I visited the ruins in December 1930 along with Prof. A. C. Banerji and one of his post-graduate research scholars in mathematics, we found the column in the present

erect position set right by the present Director of Archaeology, R. B. Dayaram Sahni who also evidently excavated a few feet of ground round the base. The column as it stands now is about 23 feet high and the base near the ground level measured 120 inches. Further excavation round the pillar to the depth of another 6 feet or so will, I feel certain, lead us to the end of the base and will bear out General Cunningham's conclusion of its height being 36 feet, which is also the height of another of Aśoka's monolithic pillars, namely, the Lauriya Arerâj Pillar in the Champâran District which bears a copy of the Seven Pillar Edicts. So the lack of an inscription is no convincing ground on which to reject it as an Aśokan column when there is evidence of the existence of many 'uninscribed monolithic sandstone pillars' built by Aśoka.[1]

The importance of the pillar lies in the fact that it contains a number of inscriptions 'ranging from the age of the Guptas to the present day.'[2] The early inscriptions have not yet been deciphered except the word *prabhara* at the top of a broken shaft which Mr. Cunningham ascribes to the 4th or 5th century A.D.[3] The one in the time of Akbar has been already discussed by me.[4]

[1] E. H. I., p. 165.
[2] A. S. R. Vol. I., p. 310.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See *ante* p. 9cf.

THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR

The Aśoka Pillar now in Allâhâbâd Fort is rightly regarded as originally erected at Kauśâmbī. Dr. Bhandarkar says that the *śâsana* or orders of Aśoka against schism which we find engraved on pillars are at three different places, namely, Sârnath, Sânchi and Allahabad.[5] "The pillars at the former two places are believed to be in *situ*, but that at present existing at Allâhâbâd is rightly regarded as having been in Kauśâmbī."[6] This is also the view of Dr. Hultzch. He says: "Kauśâmbī Edict is addressed to the Mahâmâtras of Kauśâmbī. Cunningham concluded from it that the Allâhâbâd pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kauśâmbī."[7] He agrees in this with Cunningham but disagrees with him as to the latter's suggestion that Feroz Shâh removed it to Allâhâbâd, and holds with more reason that Akbar did it to add to the beauty of his newly built city. That this pillar was originally set up by Aśoka is clear from another consideration. Aśoka's edict on the Pillar now in Allâhâbâd is aimed at schism which was breaking the unity of the Buddhist Church. The *śâsana* runs as follows: "Whosoever breaks up the

[5] D. R. Bhandarkar—Aśoka, p. 94.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Hultzsch, *corpus*, p. XX, Vol. I.

Church, be it monk or nun, shall be clad in white raiment, and compelled to live in what is not a residence (of the clergy)."[8] The *śâsana* or the order is addressed, as is clear from the inscription, directly to the Mahâmâtras of Kauśâmbī.[9] According to Dr. Radha Kumud there were two classes of Mahâmâtras. One class of Mahâmâtras were associated with Viceroys as Ministers, to whom kings' orders were communicated by the Viceroy, or in some cases by the king himself jointly with the Viceroy. The other class of Mahâmâtras were 'Provincial Governors who were entitled to receive the king's message directly.'[10] The learned scholar is of the opinion that since the Kauśâmbī Edict is addressed by the king directly to the Mahâmâtras of Kauśâmbī, it 'must have been, therefore, the headquarters of another province.'[11] It is therefore natural to suppose that the Pillar had been erected in the seat of a provincial government, which was Kauśâmbī.

A Red Stone Image of the Buddha: Kaniska's Inscription

A very important relic recently discovered by Mr. Vyas (February 1934), is a red stone

[8] Aśoka, p. 94.
[9] ....Ye (â) Napayati Kosambiya maham (â) ta.
[10] Asoka (G. L.), p. 52.
[11] Ibid.

Buddha image. It has been placed on the left side of the entrance of the verandah of the Museum Hall, Allâhâbâd. The statue is about four feet in height. Its head and right hand are clean gone—they appear to have been cut by some sharp weapon. Barring that, the figure is complete. It bears an inscription of the time of Kaniṣka, dated in the second year of his reign. Mr. Goswami, a post-graduate Fellow of the Calcutta University, took the first estampage of the inscription which he has rendered thus:

"In the 2nd year of the reign of Kanishka Bhikkhuni Buddhimitrâ put up this Bodhisattva at this place sanctified by the Buddha's several visits."

With the assistance of Mr. Vyas I secured an estampage of the inscription. The words are written in clear Kuṣaṇa script. The first seven letters indicate 'in the reign of Kaniṣka.' The inscription is incised on the front of the pedestal which measures 16″ × 3″. As far as it is known to me, it is the earliest of Kaniṣka's inscriptions hitherto discovered. The statue, barring the size, is wonderfully similar in colour and shape to the red stone Bodhisattva (*sic*) discovered at Sârnâth and now kept in the Sârnâth Museum which also contains an inscription of Kaniṣka, dated in the third year of his reign. The inscription on the statue

found at Kauśâmbī undoubtedly proves that it was an important Buddhist centre in the time of Kaniṣka.

Inscriptions of the Magha Dynasty of Kausambi

Besides the inscription referred to above, three inscriptions, in excellent preservation, of the Magha Dynasty of Kauśâmbī have been discovered. They are incised on pieces of stone and have been brought to the Allâhâbâd Museum. Mr. Vyas tells me that estampages of these inscriptions have been taken by Prof. Gauri Shanker Chatterji of the Allâhâbâd University, who had the credit of discovering the inscription on the biggest stone slab. It is understood that Professor Chatterjee has been busy editing the inscription. When it is done and published it will throw important light on a period of the history of Kauśâmbī and also settle the controversy as to the name of the author of the inscription, namely, whether it is Megha as stated by R. B. Dayarama Sahni or Bhadra Magha as stated by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Stone Sculptures

The following are the important sculptures which have been recovered from the ruins of Kauśâmbī and are housed in the Allâhâbâd

Museum: about a dozen or so Jina Heads and about half a dozen pieces of Jaina *Tirthankaras* in sitting posture in various *mudrâs*. The most beautiful of these sculptures is the one of Candraprabhu Tīrthaṅkara bearing the sign of a crescent below the feet. Unfortunately its head is gone. Besides there is the figure of *Caturmukha Rudra* and of an *Ekamukha Rudra*. There are two railing pillars of the Kuṣaṇa period and four pieces of stone about one foot long and six inches wide containing on all of them images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. A big piece of stone about three feet long and two feet wide and four inches thick contains the images of exquisite carving of 24 Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. Unfortunately the head of every single image has been chopped off.

Terra Cottas

The ruins of Kauśâmbī have yielded a large number of terra-cotta figures. Mr. Vyas has been able to recover about 200 such figures which have been brought to light by the spade. This point deserves special notice of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India because when the site yields such important ancient relics merely with the help of the spade, it is sure to yield richer results by an excavation going to the depth of three to four feet. A big broken fragment

of Toraṇa Lintel which when complete bore representation of the poor noble animals of the Buddhist texts was also found. The piece which is now in the Allâhâbâd Museum is about four feet long and one foot wide. The figures represented on this broken sheet are:

A bull and broken portion of an elephant, and R. B. Daya Ram Sahni thinks that in the portion which is missing there was a horse and a lion. About this piece the Director General of Archaeology, R. B. Sahni, writes: "These animals are portrayed on the abacus of the Aśoka Pillar at Sârnâth and on a miniature terra-cotta in the Lahore Central Museum but have, as far as I am aware, not been noticed elsewhere in India." Mr. Vyas has discovered two seals; one of them is a rare stamp seal with the name of a private individual in Brâhmī characters of the time of Aśoka; the second seal is a terra-cotta seal. So far as it could be made out it does not contain any inscription but the branch of a tree on which are sketched certain male or female figures. All these have been taken temporarily by the Director General of Archaeology, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.

Coins

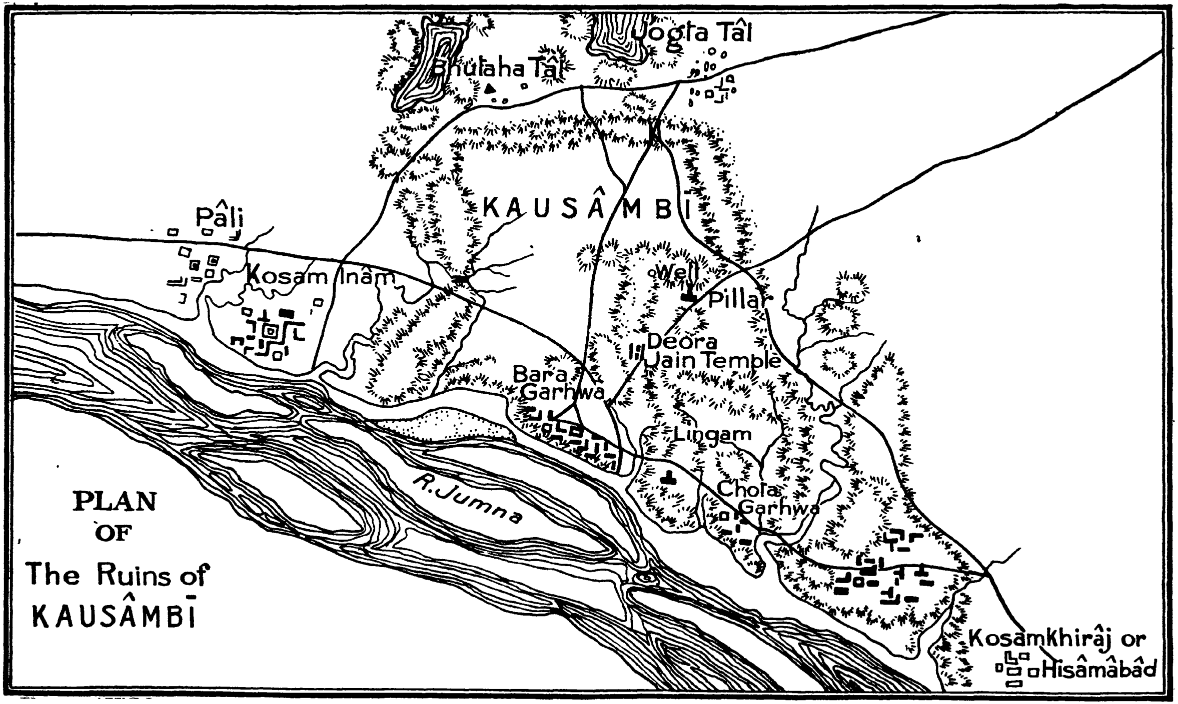
Among the coins collected by Mr. Vyas for

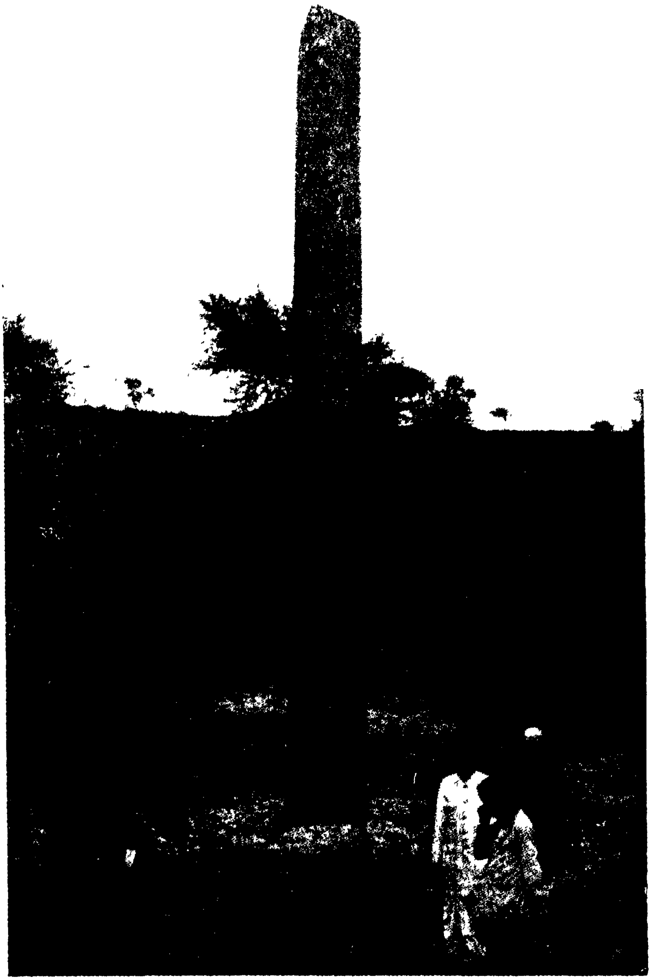
the Allâhâbâd Museum there are about two hundred from the ancient site of Kauśâmbī. These coins have been mostly found in the village of Gaṛdhavâ inside the ramparts of the old fort. Theṣe have all been ploughed up and have been collected by Mr. Vyas from the villagers who have picked them up from the fields. The writer has also collected a number of them and they are in his possession. The Kauśâmbī coins in the Allâhâbâd Museum have not as yet been properly classified, but some of them are very old and may be found in Sir Alexander Cunningham's book on the Ancient Coins of India. The majority of them contain on one side the figure of an elephant and on the other a crescent on Mount Meru. Mr. Durga Prasad of Benâres who has made a special study of ancient punch-marked coins thinks that they are the coins of Candragupta. Mr. Vyas has found one very important coin which contains an inscription, but the only word that is legible is 'Ma' in Brâhmī character. It is possible it may be a symbol of Candragupta Maurya. Coins which are largely obtained at Kauśâmbī are those which are described in Sir Alexander Cunningham's book as 'containing on one side a lanky bull and on the other a number of marks such as a wheel, a tree within ṛailing, and swastika. These coins

figure as numbers seven and nine on Plate V of his book. Coins of Kauśâmbī belonging to the second and first centuries B.C. have already been discussed.'[12] Besides these, a large number of cast coins have been recovered from this site. Prominent among these are those which correspond with Nos. 29, 24 and 26 in Plate I of Sir Alexander Cunningham's book. Besides these a large number of coins of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpore as well as of the Moguls have been discovered in Kauśâmbī.

[12] See *ante* p. 31f. and p. 42ff.

INDEX


PLAN OF The Ruins of KAUSÂMBĪ
Jogta Tâl
Bhutaha Tâl
KAUSÂMBĪ
Pâli
Kosam Inâm
Well
Pillar
Deora
Jain Temple
Bara
Garhwa
Lingam
Chola
Garhwa
R. Jumna
Kosamkhirâj or
Hisâmâbâd

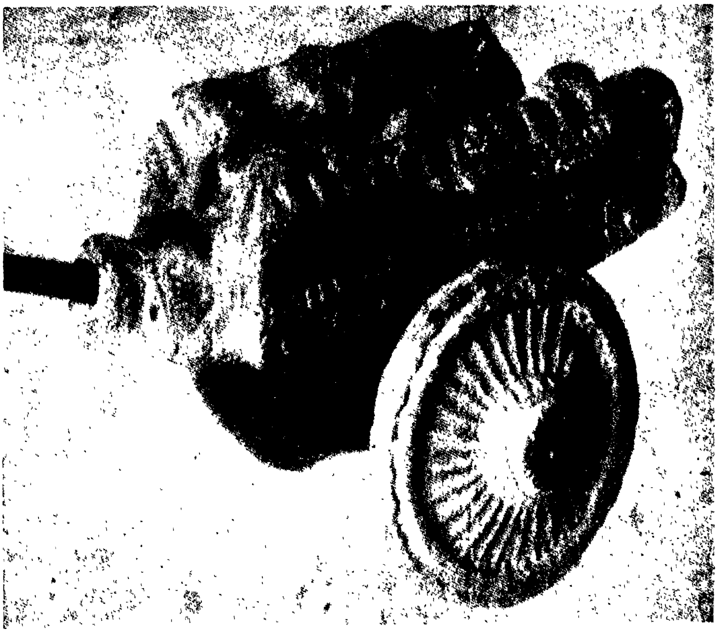


The Aśoka Pillar in *Situ*



A Red-stone Image of the Buddha found in Kauśâmbī, dated in the 2nd year of Kaniṣka's reign

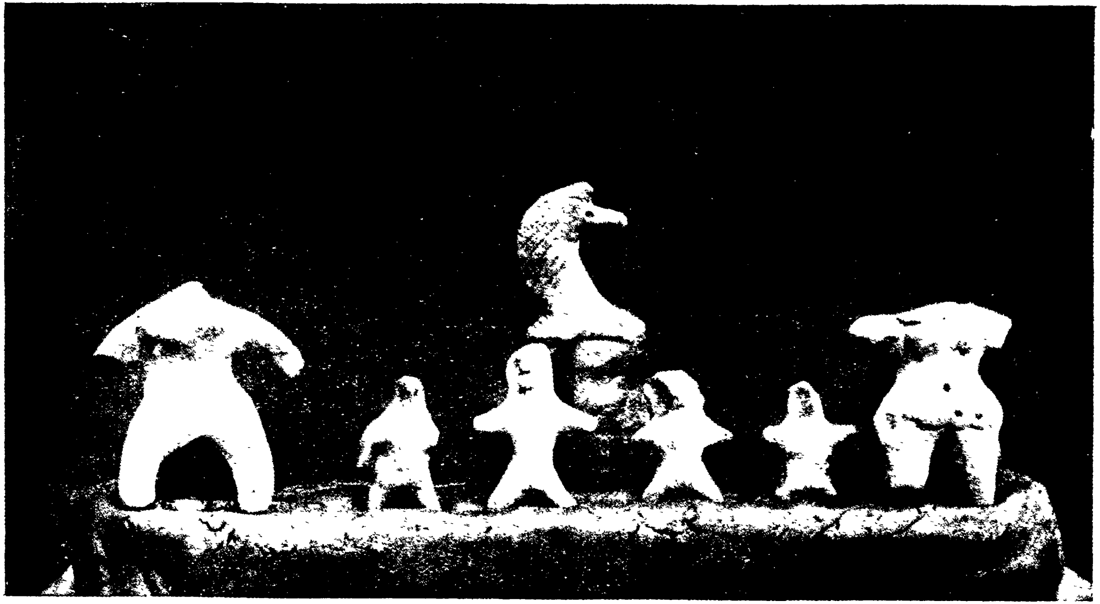
[*In Allâhâbâd Municipal Museum*]



A Terra-cotta Toy Cart dated about 3rd Century A. D.
found at Kauśâmbī

[*In Allâhâbâd Municipal Museum*]

Plate 5



Pre-Mauryan Terra-cotta Toys

Plate 6



A Terra-cotta image of the Manasâ Devi (Snake Goddess)

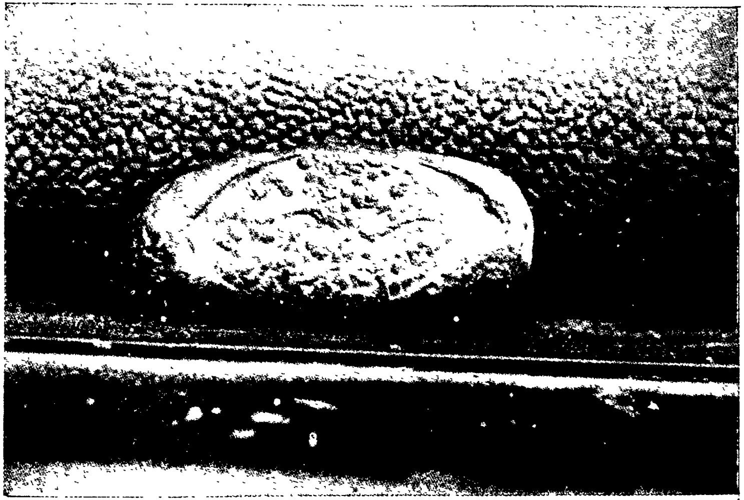


Terra-cotta heads

[*In Allâhâbâd Municipal Museum*]



Terra-cotta heads



A Terra-cotta seal

[*In Allâhâbâd Municipal Museum*]